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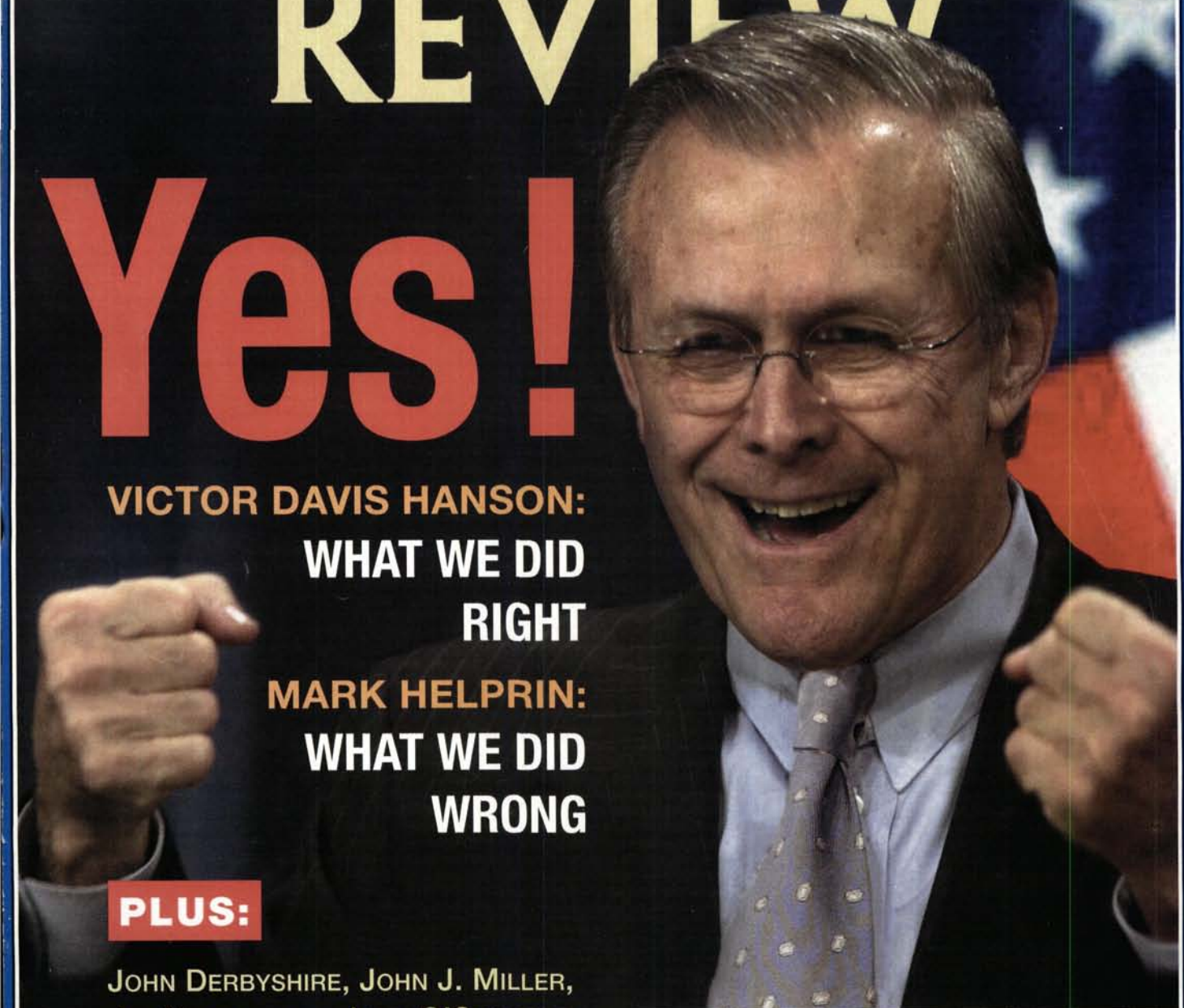

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ON THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

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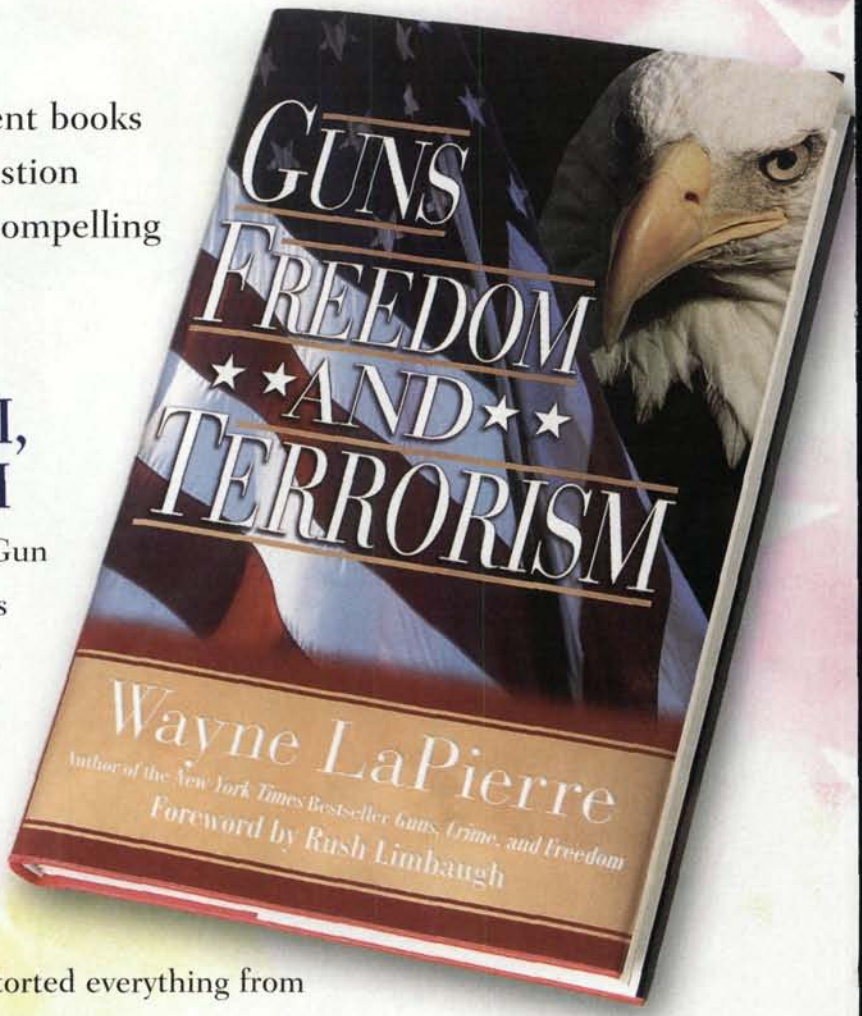

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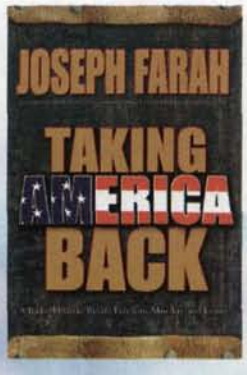

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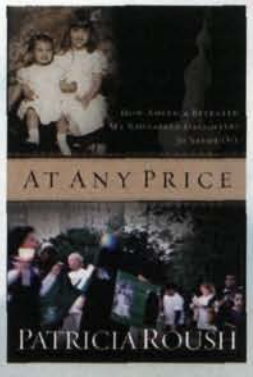

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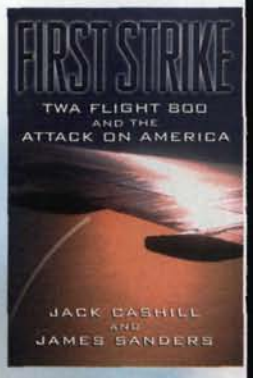

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ AT WAR

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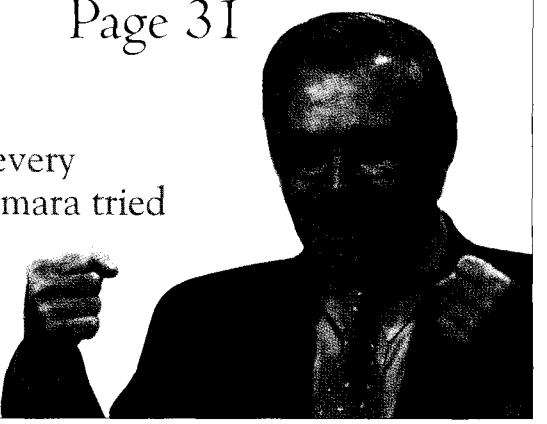
Radical for Our Time

Not since Edwin M. Stanton poked his head into every department of the Union Army and Robert McNamara tried to apply corporate business procedures to the Pentagon bureaucracy has a U.S. official exercised such political and military influence as Donald Rumsfeld. *By Victor Davis Hanson*



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for the record

■ In ABC News/*Washington Post* poll President **Bush** earns 77 percent approval rating and 80 percent support for war against Iraq. . . . Bush at Camp Lejeune: "The United States and our allies pledged to act if the dictator did not disarm. The regime in Iraq is now learning that we keep our word. By our actions, we serve a great and just cause: We will remove weapons of mass destruction from the hands of mass murderers. Free nations will not sit and wait, leaving enemies free to plot another September 11, this time, perhaps, with chemical or biological or nuclear terror. And by defending our own security, we are freeing the people of Iraq from one of the cruelest regimes on earth." . . . Bush in televised address to the Iraqi people: "We will help you build a peaceful and representative government that protects the rights of all citizens, and then our military forces will leave. You are a good and gifted people—the heirs of a great civilization that contributes to all humanity. You deserve better than tyranny and corruption and torture chambers. You deserve to live as free people."

■ Secretary of Defense **Donald Rumsfeld**: "One cannot help but think of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Iron Curtain. We are seeing history unfold, events that will shape the course of a country, the fate of a people, and potentially the future of the region. **Saddam Hussein** is now taking his rightful place alongside **Hitler**, **Stalin**, **Lenin**, **Ceausescu** in the pantheon of failed, brutal dictators. And the Iraqi people are well on their way to freedom." . . . Vice President **Cheney**, on the war: "One of the most extraordinary military campaigns ever conducted." . . . More Cheney: "In the early days of the war, the plan was criticized by some retired military officers embedded in TV studios."

■ Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.): "What we need now is not just a regime change in Saddam Hussein and Iraq, but we need a regime change in the U.S." . . . Former governor **Howard Dean** (D., Vt.), in *Washington Post*: "We've gotten rid of [Saddam Hussein]. I suppose that's a good thing.". . . Three percent of 1.4 million people in active-duty military are non-citizens, says Defense Department. . . . Chattanooga restaurant CEO **Lonnie Stout II** on former President Bush as dinner guest, in *Chattanooga Times Free Press*: "He asked for vodka on the rocks. He said he'd take any kind of vodka as long as it wasn't French."

■ Captured al-Qaeda leader **Khalid Sheik Mohammed** tells interrogators of plans to attack Capitol, D.C.'s Metro system, and Israel's embassy. . . . Former New York City mayor **Rudy Giuliani** on whether he'd run for president in 2008, in *Esquire*: "I can't count out options." . . . Fisher House Foundation provides aid to military families in need, including housing and scholarships. The foundation also provides special assistance to families of soldiers who have given their lives in defense of our country. For further information see www.fisherhouse.org.

■ South African president **Thabo Mbeki**: "The prospect facing the people of Iraq should serve as sufficient warning that in future we, too, might have others descend on us, guns in hand to force-feed us." . . . In civil-war-torn Congo, militants kill 966 villagers in one week. . . . In **Fidel Castro**'s latest crackdown, Cuban dissidents receive prison terms of up to 27 years.

■ **Jay Leno**: "I read today that **Al Gore** wanted to go visit the troops in Baghdad but he cancelled when he saw what they do to statues over there."

"Oh, sure—now they settle the malpractice suit!"

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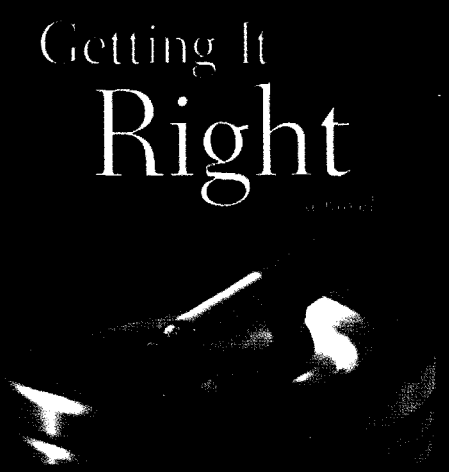
How the Right Was Won

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.



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THE WEEK

■ We won't gloat. We don't need to. It's enough just to watch them sulk.

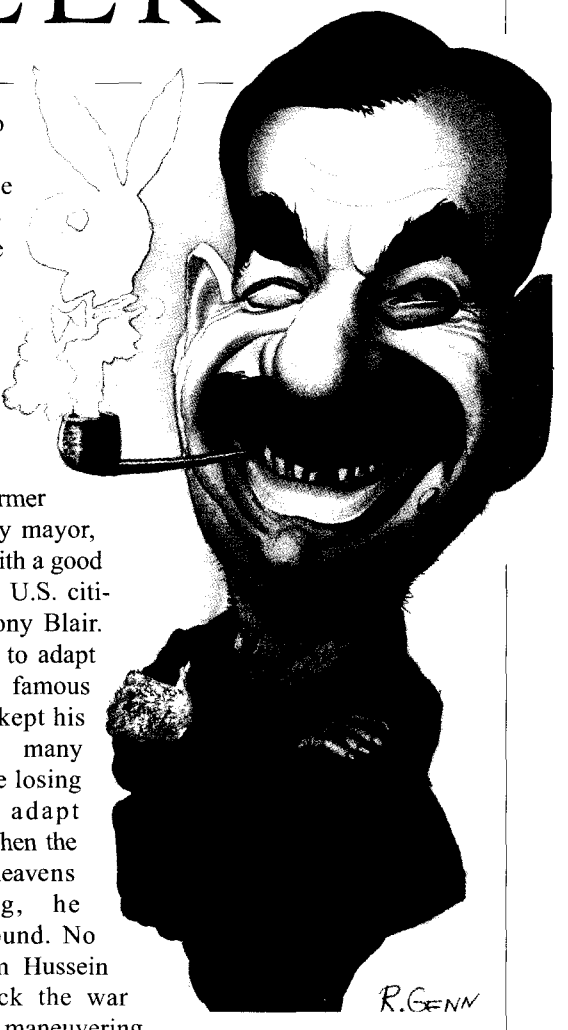
■ One liberated Iraqi was reported to say that what he wanted from America was "Democracy. Whiskey. And sexy." Maybe we can send Bill Clinton as a special envoy?

■ Iraqis themselves looped a rope around the neck of the larger-than-life statue of Saddam Hussein that used to dominate the center of Baghdad. But the rope wasn't strong enough to bring the hideous thing down, nor were sledgehammers. American Marines at last did the job with their tankbuster and a steel hawser. Iraqis want freedom, Americans provide the tools for it. One among scores of dramatic events, the downfall of that statue is an unforgettable metaphor.

■ Before—and during—the war, the organization had called itself "Not in Our Name." So one had to wonder, when the liberation came, with children tossing flowers at American troops and free Iraqis lifting their faces to the sun, Was that "not in their name" either? Maya Sen, a national organizer for the group, had this to say about images of jubilant Iraqis: "I was appalled to see the footage and the coercion the U.S. and U.K. military have put on the people of Iraq. It's a little hard not to do what they tell you to do when they are armed with machine guns."

■ The U.N.-administered "oil for food" program never did enough to feed the Iraqi people, but it did help Saddam tighten his grip on the country. Ba'athist control of ration cards served as yet another weapon used by the regime against its own people. The program paid for more than food, too: It gave the Ministry of Information the means to build a mobile broadcast system, which was an important propaganda tool during the early days of the conflict, when cautious Iraqis weren't sure whether it was safe to topple statues. Oil deals also poured money into the personal bank accounts of Saddam and other top officials, from kickbacks offered by businesses seeking contracts. A U.S.-led team of financial investigators now will try to unravel all these details. Their revelations will be critical in keeping the U.N. from muscling its way into postwar Iraq.

■ American troops hunting for leaders of the late Iraqi regime discovered one of Saddam Hussein's safe houses. Apparently this place, a town house in an elite district of Baghdad, doubled as a love shack, with décor in the style of the 1960s-original Playboy Mansion: kitsch fantasy paintings featuring topless blondes, table lamps in erotic designs, king-size beds, and floor-to-ceiling mirrors everywhere. All that was missing was the famous grotto, and that brass plate over the doorbell inscribed (as no doubt readers of a certain age will fondly recall) with the legend: *Si non oscillas, noli tintinnare*—"If you don't swing, don't ring."



Saddam Hefner

■ Ed Koch, former New York City mayor, has come up with a good idea: honorary U.S. citizenship for Tony Blair. Courageously, to adapt Kipling's famous words, he has kept his head while many about him were losing theirs. Or, to adapt Housman, when the political heavens were falling, he stood his ground. No doubt, Saddam Hussein hoped to block the war through U.N. maneuvering and demonstrations in Western streets. He had the effective support of Jacques Chirac, among others. Thanks to Tony Blair and Australian prime minister John Howard, leading the way among foreign leaders, these hopes were dashed. Yes, honorary citizenship for both, as, once, for Winston Churchill.

■ Liberals denounced President Bush's tax cut of 2001 as recklessly large, and they are saying the same thing about his current tax-cut proposal. Republicans Olympia Snowe and George Voinovich are trying to force Bush to shrink the tax cut by more than half. If they have their way, it will only be $350 billion over ten years. But the president's tax cuts are actually quite modest. The Congressional Budget Office projects that even if Bush's plan goes through, average tax rates will be higher at the end of the decade than they were at the start of it. That's because the tax code automatically jacks up tax rates over time. Bush's first round of tax cuts merely moderated this trend, and the second round would further moderate it. The size of the proposed tax cuts should also be judged in relation to the spending increases that Washington is planning. If

ROMAN GENN

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Jungle Camouflage on America's Desert Warriors

The right camouflage in battle saves lives and reduces casualties. Yet, thousands of American troops fighting in the Iraqi desert are wearing dark green jungle battle dress.

Why? Because neither the U.S. Army nor Marine Corps have enough desert colored uniforms to give each of our war fighters the required three outfits.

This crisis, moreover, goes far deeper than traditional short-term supply management.

The problem is that a succession of Presidents and Congress's have allowed U.S. manufacturing to deteriorate so far that the United States now lacks the capacity to supply many of its basic defense needs quickly, such as the proper uniforms, flak jackets, boots, and tents.

A quarter decade ago, for example, the United States had a large and prosperous shoe industry. It employed tens of thousands of workers in New England and the Southern United States. But when foreign manufacturers and U.S. retailers began to flood the American market with imported shoes from penny-wage foreign factories, the U.S. Government passively stood by as America's shoe industry was destroyed.

Now, when American troops need several hundred thousand boots immediately, we do not have a domestic shoe industry that can produce them quickly.

So too, U.S. apparel manufacturing has been deeply hollowed. As recently as the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the United States had a large apparel industry that was fully able to shift from civilian to emergency military production. But in the 1990s, hundreds of U.S. apparel makers went bankrupt or moved their factories to places such as Mexico and China.

The lesson is basic—Superpowers cannot depend upon others to produce quickly the materials of war they require—including shoes, uniforms, flak jackets, and tents. That capacity must exist within the national borders.

Otherwise, superpower soldiers are forced to fight a desert war in jungle uniforms—as ours are now.

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THE WEEK

Snowe and Voinovich prevail, there will be more than two dollars of new spending for every dollar of tax cuts in the budget. One federal program, Medicare, is slated to get $400 billion over the next decade. That's more than Snowe and Voinovich would allow in tax cuts. President Bush's full tax cut is not too much to ask—especially since it, unlike federal spending increases, would help the economy.

■ According to the ratings of the National Taxpayers' Union, Sen. Jon Kyl of Arizona was the taxpayers' best friend in the Senate last year, while eight of his GOP colleagues also scored "A" grades. Arlen Specter, however—the senior senator from Pennsylvania—rated a "C-" for his record on spending, regulation, and taxes. Rep. Pat Toomey is challenging Specter for the Republican nomination, and he scored a solid "A." Toomey had the highest rating among House members from the Northeast, where taxpayers are badly in need of a friend.

■ John Kerry is against "litmus tests" for the Supreme Court. He's not one of those intolerant right-wingers who demand that nominees to the Court pledge their opposition to abortion rights. (Neither, by the way, is President Bush.) Instead, Kerry has announced, his nominees to the Court will have to pledge their support for *Roe* v. *Wade*. That's not a litmus test, he explained, because *Roe* is "settled law": "I think people who go to the Supreme Court ought to interpret the Constitution as it is interpreted." Kerry's position, if taken seriously, would seem to suggest that no Supreme Court decision, however mistaken, could ever be reversed. *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was settled law for almost 60 years. Liberals used to wax eloquent about "the living Constitution," the interpretation of which had to change with the times. But for today's liberals, *Roe* is sacrosanct. Abortion rights are fixed and immutable for all time, unlike anything that's actually in the Constitution.

■ As the war was being fought in Iraq, Kerry called for "regime change" in the United States. It was a cute line, if a well-worn one. But why would a U.S. senator—especially one running for president—joke about "regime change" when American troops are fighting and dying for the real thing overseas?

■ The Bush administration asked Congress for $74 billion to fund the war in Iraq and ongoing homeland-security operations. The House and Senate have complied, passing emergency spending bills of around $80 billion. In the last 40 minutes before the Senate bill was passed, however, senators slipped in more than a billion dollars in special projects, including tasks so vital to the war effort as controlling sea lampreys in Lake Champlain ($500,000), fixing a leaking dam in Sen. Leahy's Vermont ($3.3 million), funding a research station at the South Pole ($10 million), and labeling as organic wild salmon from Alaska (priceless). "I didn't realize that al-Qaeda had reached all the way to the South Pole," quipped Sen. John McCain, who made a failed, last-ditch effort to purge the bill of a large chunk of pork. Republican leaders in the House, who kept their bill relatively lean, have vowed not to bring the legislation to the floor with the Senate pork in it.

■ Nancy Pelosi declared that she had "absolutely no regret" about her vote against the war, citing "the cost to our budget": "We could have probably brought down that statue for a lot less." Finally, the lady finds a federal program that's too expensive to support.

■ Carol Moseley Braun is on the stump—on the presidential stump—and she is lettin' it fly. "When Democrats get in, they give us peace and prosperity," she said. "When Republicans get in, they give us depression and war." That's the kind of statement that, made by a Republican, would cause a furor. But then, we're not supposed to take Democratic presidential candidates—some of them, at least—seriously. Then again, why shouldn't we?

■ Thousands of demonstrators gathered outside the Supreme Court in early April as the justices listened to oral arguments in the University of Michigan's racial-preferences case. Almost all of the marchers demanded a ruling that would preserve the school's color-coded admissions system. DaimlerChrysler, General Motors, and other big businesses joined them by submitting a legal brief in defense of the university. These large corporations looked after self-interest: Civil-rights regulations are an overhead expense for everyone, but the big guys are able to pay it more easily than their smaller competitors. Another legal brief signed by prominent military figures, including retired Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, said that preferences are necessary if the service academies are to maintain a "diverse" population. Yet Michigan behaves nothing like West Point. At West Point, if two students share identical credentials, the black applicant is twice as likely as the white one to be accepted; at Michigan, the black student is 174 times as likely to get in, according to the Center for Equal Opportunity. If that isn't gross discrimination, then nothing is. Michigan's admissions system must be struck down—and so should that of every other school that seeks to build a student body on skin color.

YESTERDAY'S GENERALS

In mufti and with greying hair,
They still appear on TV, where,
Pontificating as if each
Had covered D-Day from the beach,
They cue-in Peter, Tom or Dan
On defects in the master-plan;
Although, egg streaming down their faces,
They've stopped deploring forward bases.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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THE WEEK

■ The sophisticates sneered at President Bush for refusing to accede to North Korean demands for bilateral talks. Such talks, they argued, were the only way to resolve the crisis over the country's nuclear program. But someone forgot to tell the North Koreans, who have turned out to be less obdurate than Bush's domestic critics. They are now suggesting that they will take part in multilateral talks, as Bush has urged. South Korean president Roh Moo Hyun says that the North has yielded because it is "petrified" by the American victory in Iraq. The U.S. is making headway in the South, too. The administration is planning to move its army headquarters there out of Seoul. The country's political establishment is starting to realize that our troops could just pack up and leave the whole country some day—and to remember how much they need us. The crisis on the peninsula is not over. It remains to be seen whether we can get North Korea's neighbors to join us in putting pressure on it. But the administration's strategy is beginning to pay off.

■ In Korean superstition, three is a lucky number, so that triplets are believed to be especially fortunate—possibly destined for great power or influence. The 300 or so sets of triplets born in North Korea every year are therefore a source of concern to that country's demented dictator, Kim Jong Il. In order that he might sleep more easily at night, Kim has ordered every set of triplets born to be taken from their parents and raised in special orphanages. "To relieve their parents of the anxiety of feeding three mouths," is the official explanation. Observers note, however, that the policy applies even to high-ranking party members, whose privileged positions exempt them from such anxiety. A foreign delegation recently allowed to visit one of these orphanages found the infants placed several to a cot, rocking backward and forward, watched constantly, regularly fed and changed, but given no sign of affection whatever. "Our people were stunned into silence," one delegate reported. At least the triplets got a visit, though: North Korea's sick and disabled children are sent to a different set of special camps under a decree from Kim to "normalize" the population. No foreign-aid agency has ever been given access to those camps.

■ As Saddam Hussein's minister of information, Muhammad Said al-Sahhaf day after day foreswore defeat, proclaimed victory, and accused the United States of every sort of aggression and crime—a fascinatingly complete reversal of reality. At last he denied that any American troops had entered Baghdad at the very moment when the sound of fighting close by—almost over his shoulder—was making him inaudible, and prone to duck at loud explosions. Then he vanished, not to surface again. He may well never have believed anything he was saying, and must have been aware that aggression and crime were the hallmarks of the regime he represented. There were good reasons why he did so much to live up to the hoary stereotype of Arabs as congenital liars. Like everyone else, he was afraid of what Saddam might do to him, and the attempt to bolster Arab honor also obliged him to fantasize about Iraqi heroes overpowering American devils. Superficially, his playing at Goebbels might look farcical, but it has done real harm to Arabs and their standing everywhere.

■ Among the victims of the looting spree that broke out following the liberation of Baghdad was the Iraqi National Museum, home to artifacts from the very first civilizations mankind ever built. The director of New York's Metropolitan Museum chided coalition forces for "allowing Iraq's ancient heritage to be pillaged." Hmm. "Iraq's ancient heritage"? The ethnic and linguistic links between modern Iraq on the one hand and the peoples of Sumer, Akkad, and Babylon on the other are tenuous—in the case of Sumer, most likely nonexistent. To the degree that the relics of these peoples belong to anyone, they belong to all mankind, and should have been stored and displayed in the safest place on the planet, a description that hardly fits Saddam Hussein's Baghdad. In any case, it is reported that many of the looters knew precisely what they were looking for, a fact that suggests that the pilfered items will be traded out of the country into private collections. These artifacts from civilization's dawn will be more secure and better cared for in the homes of Swiss bankers and Japanese tycoons than they were in Saddam Hussein's capital. And in the fullness of time—in, that is to say, their 40th or 50th century of existence—they will find their way back into museum collections.

■ The economics of the marketplace, like the laws of gravitation, will assert themselves eventually, even when defied by two wealthy and prestige-conscious governments. So it happened with Concorde, the Anglo-French supersonic airliner. British Airways and Air France have been the only two carriers to fly the plane, all attempts to sell it to others having failed long ago. They have now announced that Concorde will be retired this October after 27 years in service. Famously noisy, uncomfortable, and polluting, Concorde has lost untold amounts of money for its airlines, even at, most recently, $6,459 for a one-way London-to-New York ticket. The current depressed market for air travel of any kind, together with the memory of a ghastly crash in July 2000 that killed 113 people, has left the big bird flying with 20 percent capacity. Concorde was a beautiful machine; but it was also a symbol of the overweening arrogance of the big-government/big-technology partnership that squandered so much of so many nations' wealth in the 20th century. Concorde's beauty will be missed; but as a symbol of vainglorious governmental profligacy, it should have been retired long ago.

■ Jesse Jackson, the Grand High Pimp of the Rainbow-PUSH Coalition, has made a career of extorting money—in the form of "donations"—from corporations and institutions, and passing the spoils on to his favorite "civil rights" groups. This explains why red-blooded NASCAR donated $100,000 to become a "platinum" sponsor of a conference organized by Jackson's outfit. Peter Flaherty of the National Legal and

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Designer Genes: Will They Wash?

Henry I. Miller, M.D., is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

A process called gene therapy has enabled scientists to create significantly smarter mice, demonstrating that a seemingly minor genetic alteration can improve performance on a wide range of learning and memory tasks. Aside from being bad news for cats, **the success of gene therapy for purposes of "enhancement" heightens the debate about the ethics of making designer humans.**

Gene therapy, the introduction of new genes into an animal or a human, can be performed for two purposes. Most commonly, physicians try to correct genetic or acquired disorders by getting the new genes to synthesize missing or defective gene products. But it can also be used for nontherapeutic purposes, such as overcoming baldness or enabling us to run faster.

Joe Tsien, the Princeton University molecular biologist who led the mouse-improvement research, has posed some ethical questions raised by genetic enhancement. "There will be issues of access and who can afford it. Whether the social wealthy class will have the intellectual advantage over poor people, these are real questions coming down the road."

But society already has come to terms with similar issues. Gene therapy for enhancement should be considered in light of society's permissiveness toward experimental medical and surgical interventions in general and those intended for nontherapeutic purposes in particular. Cosmetic surgery is performed for all sorts of nontherapeutic purposes. Drugs are frequently used for relatively trivial indications, such as modest obesity, age spots, and baldness. And there have been numerous clinical trials of appetite suppressants, memory- and performance-enhancing drugs, and human growth hormone for hormonally normal but shorter-than-average children.

Patients' psychological well-being and freedom to choose are also important considerations. "Mere" enhancement is not trivial to the adolescent boy who is six inches shorter than anyone else in his class or to many people of either sex who suffer hair loss. One need look no further than the huge societal demand for cosmetics, cosmetic surgery, and health clubs to be reminded how important people consider it is to look and feel good.

The issues surrounding whether a patient suffers from a condition that warrants treatment, the kinds and magnitude of risks, equal access to therapy, and the relationship between medical intervention and discrimination are fundamentally no different for gene therapy than for other interventions. Therefore, **innovations such as gene therapy, even when used for enhancement, should be treated similarly to other analogous medical and quasi-medical interventions**, except as scientific considerations may dictate.

The Economist asked in an editorial, "What of genes that might make a good body better, rather than make a bad one good? Should people be able to retrofit themselves with extra neurotransmitters to enhance various mental powers, to change the color of their skin, or lift heavier weights?" Its libertarian answer, "Yes, they should. Within some limits, people have a right to make what they want of their lives."

In view of what people want and what society permits in other realms, should not those limits be very wide?

— Henry I. Miller, M.D.

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THE WEEK

Policy Center has called on NASCAR not to continue such funding, in light of Jackson's radically anti-American speeches at anti-war rallies around the world. At a rally in mid March, Jackson said that the U.S. would be guilty of "war crimes" if it attacked Iraq. He also accused Bush and Blair of planning a "massacre for Iraq." NASCAR fans are a patriotic, pro-war bunch; they are, by and large, just the sort of people who fight our wars. No one—not even Jesse Jackson—should have carte blanche (carte noire?) to be offensive without having to face the consequences. Perhaps the executives at NASCAR should be the first to teach him this.

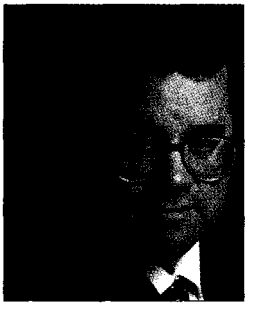
■ Eason Jordan, CNN's top news executive, unburdened himself in a remarkably obtuse op-ed for the *New York Times*. Jordan confessed that he remained silent about the routine torture of Iraqi citizens, including CNN's Baghdad employees, and dared not reveal Uday Hussein's intent to assassinate two of his brothers-in-law who had defected. Uday later lured the men back to Iraq, where they were killed. Jordan explained that reporting on the "awful things" he knew would have jeopardized the lives of his Iraqi employees. The option of closing CNN's Baghdad bureau rather than submitting to censorship as a condition of access apparently never occurred to him. So, CNN's reporters meekly endured the regime's minders, who ensured storylines pleasing to Saddam—which certainly included CNN's reporting last fall about the "huge show of support" Saddam enjoyed when he was unanimously reelected. Trading the truth for access, CNN's Baghdad motto was "We Report. Saddam Decides."

■ Nat Hentoff published a moving column in *The Village Voice*. He said that he had protested the Vietnam war, but this one was different: Saddam's regime was so atrocious, he wanted to see the Iraqis liberated. Fine, fine—but we should never drop the point on Vietnam. If relieving or preventing a totalitarian nightmare is your thing, then you should have loved Vietnam. As the late Vernon Walters would say, bombs fell on every village and hamlet in South Vietnam for twelve long years, and no one budged. It took the coming of the Communist "peace" to send almost a million people out into the South China Sea, on anything that could float, to risk starvation, piracy, and death. If you now think more positively about American intervention—as a general proposition—great. But don't pretend that Vietnam was anything other than what Ronald Reagan said it was: a noble cause.

■ Two cheers for Harold Bloom, Yale (and New York University) professor of English. At 72, he has had a long and intellectually checkered career. An able reader of literary works, he has frequently been led astray by Freudian excursions, by a homemade Jewish gnosticism, and by the conviction that he is justified in making sweeping and unsupported evaluations. All this has spread considerable darkness. Underneath it all, however, he has been a champion of genuine literature and what it can accomplish, and an opponent of what he aptly calls the "school of resentment": victimology, deconstruction, Afrocentrism, and other prevailing corruptions. Now he has bequeathed his large personal library and much other valuable material to small St. Michael's College in Colchester, Vt., stating that "with rare exceptions the universities and colleges in the English-speaking world that have sustained some sense of literature as a matter of powerful cognition and extraordinary aesthetic beauty have tended to be the Roman Catholic institutions." True, all too unfortunately true.

■ In our last issue, we said that, in the subsequent issue, we would have extensive letters on David Frum's piece, "Unpatriotic Conservatives" (April 7). This is that subsequent issue. But we will have those letters, instead, in the next issue. Thank you for your patience.

■ Some of the remembrances of Michael Kelly, the *Atlantic Monthly* editor who was killed April 3 in a combat-related accident in Iraq, suggested that he had a kind of dual personality. One side was generous, insightful, and exuberant, a writer of remarkable talent and an editor who inspired writers to do their best. The other side was cranky and caustic, the guy who wrote an often acerbic column about politics. What those eulogists were really saying was this: How could a man who was such a wonderful human being write such terrible things about Bill Clinton? And the answer is: It was all Michael Kelly. The man



who wrote with such extraordinary perceptiveness in *Martyr's Day*, his account of the first Gulf War, was the same man who judged the former president to be an inveterate liar—which was, in Kelly's estimation, a very bad thing. Kelly displayed courage when he reported on the first Gulf War, and he displayed courage when he wrote about Clinton. The first was of the physical kind, and the second was of the moral variety, when he knew his opinions would invite the harrumphing disapproval of colleagues at the *New York Times* and *The New Yorker*. Kelly was "fearless as a columnist," said Fred Hiatt, his editor on the *Washington Post* editorial page. "He didn't care who liked him or didn't like him." Kelly was showing courage again in his last assignment, moving toward Baghdad with the U.S. Army's 3rd Infantry Division, when he died. It would have been a privilege to read his account, never to be written, of this Gulf War. It was certainly a privilege to read the work he gave us. R.I.P.

■ NBC correspondent David Bloom was the second major American journalist to die covering the war in Iraq. Bloom, 39, was stricken by a pulmonary embolism. He was an excellent journalist, but that's not how he wanted to be remembered. He was a devout Christian and family man, and in the last e-mail he sent from Iraq to his wife, he wrote: "[W]hen the moment comes in my life when you are talking about my last days, I am determined that you and others will say 'he was devoted to his wife and children, he was admired, he gave every ounce of his being for those whom he cared most about—not himself, but God and his family.'" R.I.P.

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AT WAR

Victory and After

SADDAM HUSSEIN's regime is dead, as the man himself may be. Three weeks of war freed Iraqis from his tyranny, and the region and the world from the threat it posed. Our coalition has suffered only 154 casualties. Dictators from Damascus to Pyongyang are newly fearful of American power and resolve. And we are confident that the dead regime's weapons of mass destruction will soon be found and destroyed. This is a victory in which President Bush, Prime Ministers Blair and Howard, our armed forces, and the people of America, Britain, and Australia can take pride. As Brink Lindsey noted on his website, America's response to the brutal murder of its citizens was not to strike out blindly for revenge. It was "to liberate 50 million people in Afghanistan and Iraq from two of the most hideous tyrannies on earth."

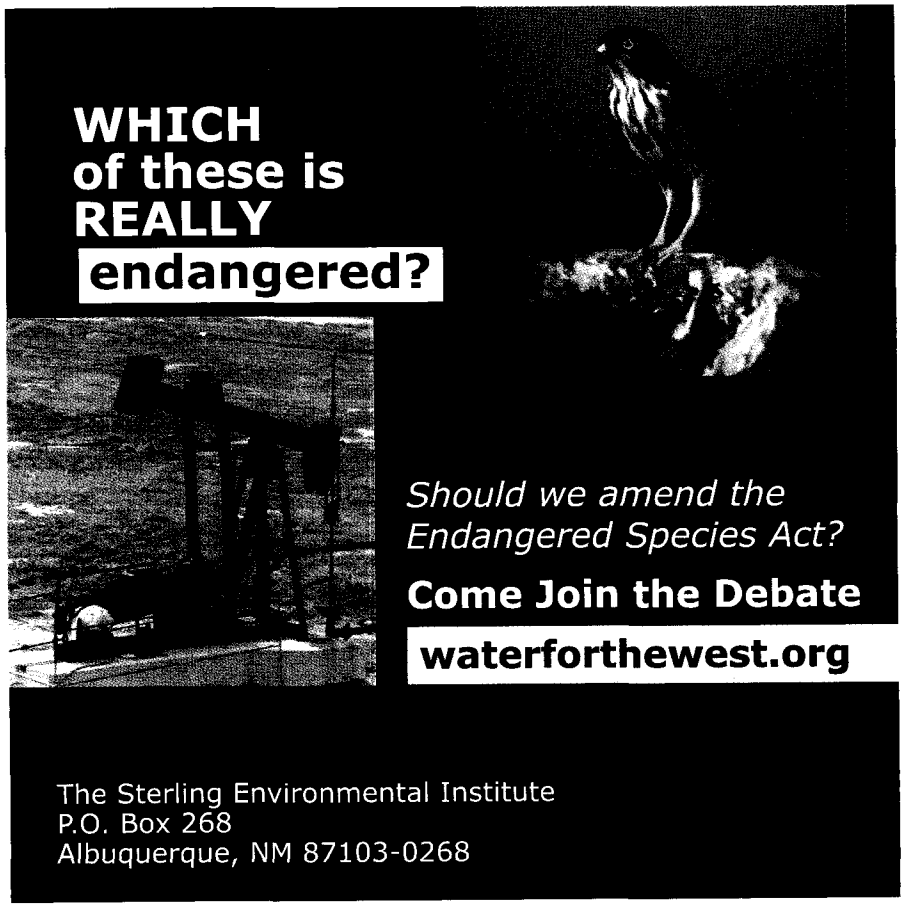
Opponents of the war are now saying that they never doubted that it would be won so easily. But this is simply untrue. Politicians, journalists, and retired generals opposed to the war made inflated projections of bodybags coming home. The risk of war for American troops was, indeed, the most popular argument that opponents of the war made. The idea that we were in a quagmire was also the point they made most relentlessly once the fighting had started. They were foolish then, and they look it now. Some of these people made the same predictions before the first Gulf War; they clearly do not learn from experience. But the rest of us should know not to trust their judgment in future foreign-policy controversies.

Those controversies are already coming upon us. Although we have won a great victory, this is not a moment for resting on laurels. We still have to find and destroy the regime's weapons of mass destruction. The war on terrorism is still going on, and we face many challenges—and temptations. The public may be tempted to believe that we can return to pre–9/11 normalcy, and the Bush administration may be tempted to think that it should now turn its attention almost exclusively to domestic issues. We hope that the president will soon make a prime-time address making it clear that these temptations will be resisted. We are not, and should not be, looking for new military battles to fight. But we do need to remain engaged in changing the political order of the Middle East.

The immediate challenge is, of course, to bring order and governance to Iraq, followed by humanitarian assistance and reconstruction aid. Some looting and chaos following the Ba'athist regime's collapse was to be expected, and is not a black mark on America's record. But it needs to be brought to an end. The debts incurred by the old regime should be voided, and sanctions lifted. The State Department and the CIA continue to snipe at Ahmad Chalabi, an Iraqi democratic leader, claiming that he lacks popular support (something that is indisputably true of the various generals and thugs whom the CIA has preferred to Chalabi). Nobody is suggesting that America install Chalabi or an associate in power. But he and other democratic leaders should be given the chance to prove themselves, to demonstrate and build whatever support they can. We should welcome help from other countries and even from the United Nations, so long as they do not interfere with a process of democratization for which many of them lack enthusiasm.

We should also reject the fantasy, popular in some quarters, of a permanently demilitarized Iraq. We want a free Iraq to be a peaceful one, but it is in a tough neighborhood and will need to be able to defend itself.

The larger challenge is to create a new, non-totalitarian political order in the Mideast. We may be able to exert a positive influence on the region through forms of pressure short of war, the exemplary force of our operation in Iraq, and, we hope, the spillover effects of Iraqi liberalization. The tough rhetoric from the Bush administration toward Syria is a welcome sign that we intend to use the troops we have parked next door to modify its behavior. At the same time, it may be wise to demonstrate that we have no relish for occupying Arab states by quitting Saudi



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Arabia. The strategic logic of our troop presence there no longer applies.

Many Americans, and even more Britishers and Europeans, believe that solving the Israeli–Palestinian conflict should also be on our agenda. Oddly, this advice is usually given by people who also warn us to avoid hubris in the Middle East. We can continue to urge Israel to halt the settlements, and to urge the Palestinians to reform their government. But we should not encourage the illusion that we can solve this conflict.

Finally, there is the vexed question of our relations with Europe—or rather, with European nations. Here our policies should be guided neither by a petty desire for revenge against France and Germany nor by the felt diplomatic imperative to make nice. Our interest lies in strengthening the power of our friends in Europe and marginalizing our foes. That means that we should continue to cultivate our ties to Eastern Europe. It also means that we should stop encouraging the centralization of political power on the Continent. For several years, we have told Eastern Europe to join the European Union and have blessed the EU's efforts to devise a common defense and foreign policy. It is hard to imagine a European policy more perversely counter to our interests. And it is time for the Bush administration to show the same boldness and imagination in its approach to alliance diplomacy that it has shown, to such good effect, in Iraq.

notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: European newspapers have taken to caricaturing President Bush as a reckless cowboy who rides into town, gets drunk, and shoots the place up.

However, there are different images to conjure up when thinking of the American cowboy: creaking saddles, the smell of horses, lowing cattle on wide-open plains under snowcapped mountains, a taciturn man who minds his own business and is loyal, dependable, and respectful to women, with an innate sense of right and wrong. He is Shane, the Virginian, and Monte Walsh—the 19th-century American Galahad. Europeans know these images well, but to the anti-Bush crowd they are inconvenient. Much of the world out there looks a great deal like the townspeople in *High Noon*, leaving Gary Cooper to fight for his life, his wife, and, naturally, the safety of the town . . . alone.

Horst R. Brakel
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Brakel: Nicely turned. Be sure to send a copy of that to *Le Monde*.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In a recent N&A you discussed the need for "dextrosinistral reform."

In the St. Joseph Edition of the New American Bible, I was entranced to read the translation of Ecclesiastes 10:2: "The wise man's understanding turns him to his right. The fool's understanding turns him to his left."

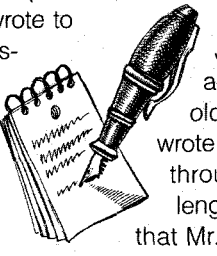
Could this be the inspired word of God?

Paul M. Lowe
Lakewood, N.J.

Dear Mr. Lowe: Couldn't have said it better myself!

WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Perhaps you remember my letter published in NR a few months ago in which I pointed out that, contrary to the implication in a Rob Long piece, the great singer Carmen McRae had died. I am just as sure that Art Buchwald died; I just don't remember when. A consequence of this is that you can inform him that should he choose to impersonate you on that cruise he wrote to you about, it will not be necessary for either of you to lose time teaching him to talk like a conservative. After all, as a dead liberal he would be regarded as a good liberal, and so there should be no problem.



Jim Cargal
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Cargal: *Very* funny. But that's gallows humor, never entirely appropriate, but always inappropriate when the subject is alive and kicking.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Tsk! Pilate's name is pronounced "Pon-*tsee*-oh" in Latin in the Apostles' Creed! (N&A, Feb. 24.) According to the *Liber Usualis*, "*Ti* standing before a vowel and following any letter (except S, X, T) is pronounced *tsee*." This is echoed in *The Correct Pronunciation of Latin According to the Roman Usage*. This latter booklet was touted by no less a personage than the great choral director Robert Shaw as being indispensable. I suggest it is still needed!

Lucy E. Carroll, D.M.A.
Organist/Music Director
Carmelite Monastery, Philadelphia
Hatboro, Pa.

Dear Dr. Carroll: Okay, you win. Cordially, and with congratulations,

WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Re your column, "Lieberman Bowing In": In your last paragraph you wrote that "the old Joe Lieberman is now the new old Joe Lieberman." Should not that be written "the old new Joe Lieberman," since you already established him as the old Joe Lieberman? You also wrote that he is "charming his way through another political challenge." Could I deduce from this that Mr. Liebermann is a charming moderate, or is he just moderately charming?

Moderately confused,
Donald Moomey
Osceola, Iowa

Oh, Mr. Moomey, you are a philological sport. You know what I meant to say, and should have complained instead about my using "charm" as an intransitive verb. Glad you didn't notice.

Cordially,

—WFB

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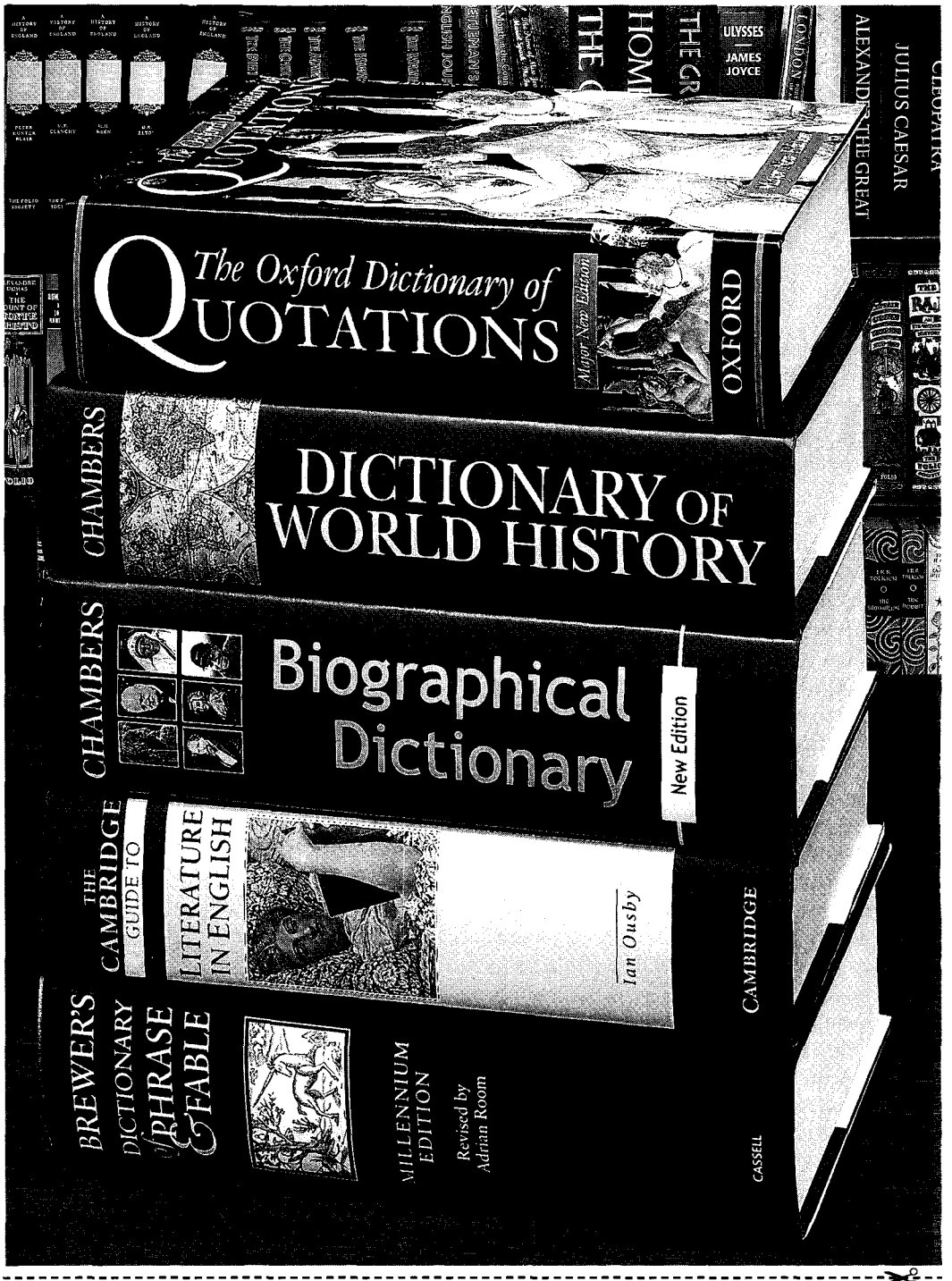

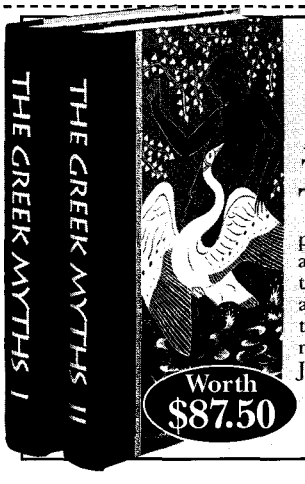

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■ AT WAR ■

A World of Possibilities

President Bush has an opportunity given to very few

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

Not since Winston Churchill redrew the map of the Middle East after World War I has a Western statesman encountered such an opportunity for cartographical and strategic creativity as George W. Bush currently enjoys in the aftermath of the Iraq war. Nor does that opportunity stop with Iraq—though it certainly starts there.

The broad lines of U.S. policy toward Iraq seem reasonably plain already. Washington has accepted that the United Nations and other "multilateral" institutions will provide humanitarian and reconstruction aid. But it would like to exclude the U.N. from any major role in the political reconstruction of the country. Anything more than that would be highly imprudent. The U.N. is simply unsuited to coping with complex and rapidly changing crises: U.N. involvement in Rwanda and the various Balkan crises resulted in agonizing delays while crucial questions were wired back to New York for final decision. In Rwanda, one such delay resulted in a massacre; in Bosnia and Kosovo, U.N. and other multilateral agencies have produced a bloated and apparently permanent aid bureaucracy rather than functioning economies. And these failures occurred even without the French, Germans, and Russians using "multilateralism" as a diplomatic weapon to frustrate U.S. policy at every turn. If the U.N. were shaping Iraq's political future, there would be endless scope for Europe's "Gang of Three" to obstruct, delay, and distort.

All the same, Washington will need more political cover for its exercise in nation-rebuilding than its acceptance of a humanitarian role for the U.N. The additional camouflage comes in the form of an Iraqi interim authority to draw up a democratic constitution and to govern the country until elections are held. Such an authority rests on the convenient democratic argument that Iraq should be governed by Iraqis rather than by the U.N. or the U.S.; but in the current unsettled climate it will rely on U.S. power and will probably not oppose American priorities. The likely result is a complicated constitution for Iraq—combining federalism and power-sharing—under which Iraq is divided into three regions, in each of which the governing authority has to be drawn from all the major ethnic/religious groups. Such constitutions tend to break down eventually, as in Lebanon, but they last long enough for the U.S. to make a graceful exit.

Now, the next step. Will it be Syria? Not unless the usually cautious Syrian government acts with spectacular recklessness. The U.S. has four aims for Syria: It should hand back Saddamite refugees who have taken refuge there; it should dismantle its armory of chemical and biological weapons; it should withdraw its troops from their de facto occupation of Lebanon; and it should abandon its support for terrorism. These aims are tough but they do not strike at the heart of Syrian interests. As Colin Powell has made clear, they will be pursued not by military methods but by economic and diplomatic sanctions (such as the recent announcement that the U.S. has cut off Iraqi oil going through a Syrian pipeline). And the presence of the victorious U.S. armed forces next door may persuade the Syrian Ba'athists to accept a large bribe to go along with U.S. policy.

A second war is only thinkable if the U.S. looks weak and embattled inside

at war scenes

Mortar platoon Sgt. James Verbowski cheers a hit on Ba'ath Party headquarters in Baghdad. April 8, 2003.

JOHN MOORE/AP

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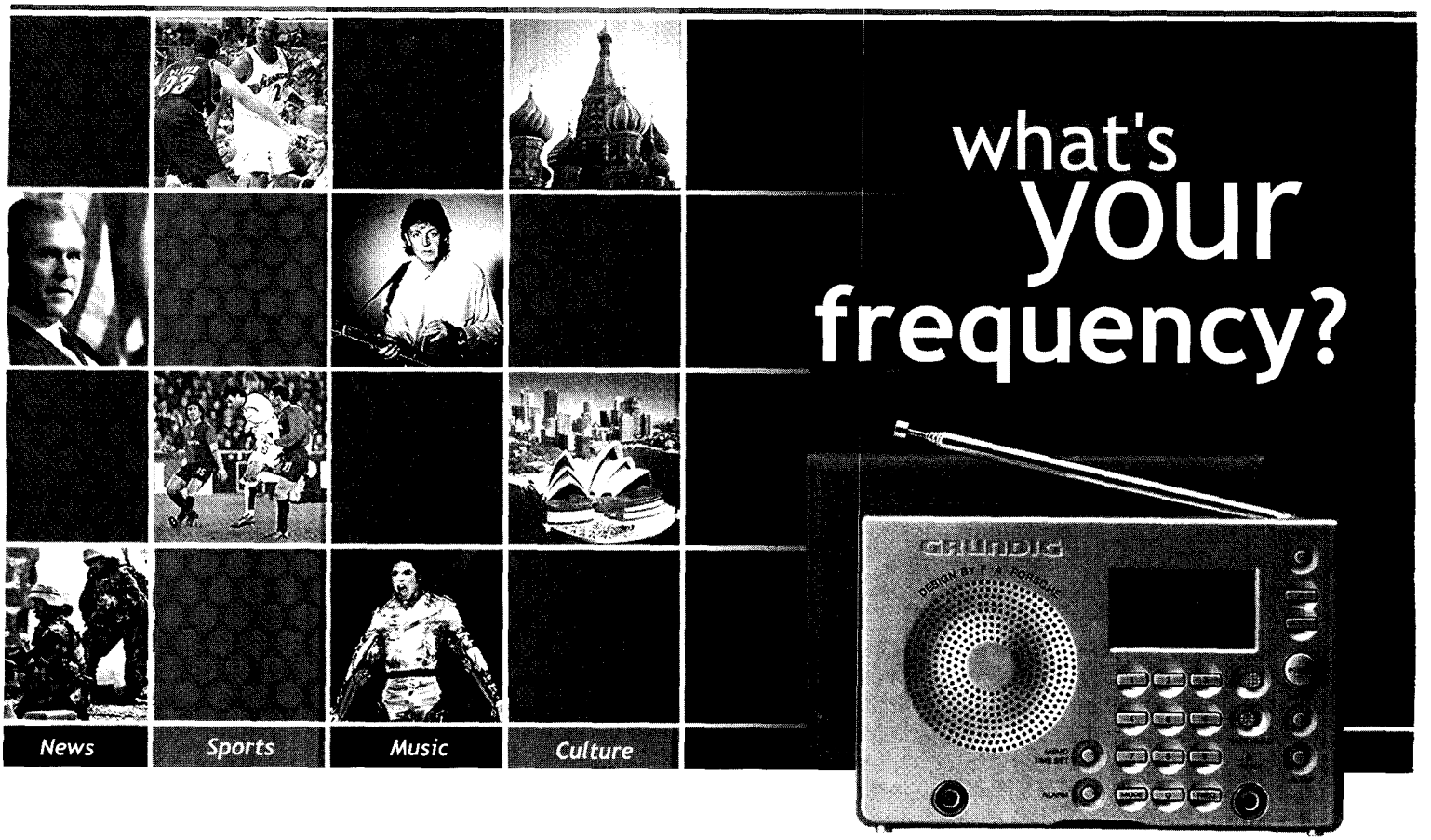

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Iraq. Some Shiites already oppose the U.S.-sponsored interim authority; Iran is known to be assisting Shiite political groups. In a worst-case scenario, Shiite uprisings might break out, non-Iraqi radical Islamists might join them, and the U.S. might be distracted from its democratic reform program. All these hypotheticals, if realized simultaneously, might tempt Syria's inexperienced president, Bashar Assad, into resisting U.S. demands and aiding the anti–U.S. rebellion. Only in those circumstances is an extension of the Iraq war into Syria possible; and, plainly, U.S. policy does not aim to produce those circumstances.

Outside the special case of Syria, U.S. policy clearly hopes to use a stable and prosperous Iraqi democracy for its "demonstration effect"—showing that Arab and Islamic culture is ultimately compatible with liberal democracy. This is not without risks: Iraqi democracy could fail spectacularly, as it has failed in the past. Even if democracy does succeed, it will not spread to neighboring autocracies without a political struggle by their peoples. And it might then produce radical anti-American Islamist governments—which is why elections should be only the final stage of a long process of liberal constitutional reform.

But Bush's policy is nothing like democracy at the point of a gun; why, then, are European elites so nervous about the prospect of a series of neoconservative wars across the Middle East? To some extent, they are frightening themselves with ghosts of their own imagining. European elite opinion is not far behind Middle Eastern opinion in embracing extravagant conspiracy theories about a sinister cabal of neoconservatives dictating a reckless foreign policy to a simple-minded President Bush. Having embraced such theories, they then interpret any official U.S. statement as a step toward this rolling Armageddon. Thus, the diplomatic warnings from the administration that Syria should not harbor Saddamite refugees were treated as virtual declarations of war in the European press.

There are also deeper reasons why Europeans so readily dupe themselves into believing the worst about U.S. intentions. In the first place, it flatters Europe by comparison with a brutal and unsophisticated U.S. More significantly, it justifies the desire of many Europeans to reject the U.S. and the Atlantic alliance and to build the European Union as a counterweight to American power. Todd Weiner of the American Enterprise Institute has pointed out that in polls, the French, Germans, and Italians overwhelmingly opposed the U.S. liberation of Iraq even when they acknowledged that Saddam Hussein was a brutal tyrant and that Iraqis would be better off without him. Weiner's explanation is that the Europeans hate U.S. power and want to thwart it even when it is doing manifest good. That is probably right, but it applies less to ordinary voters than to European elites. Ordinary Europeans pay as little attention to foreign affairs as ordinary Americans; unless they have a very good reason to become knowledgeable, their attitudes on these topics are shaped largely by the media. And Europe's media elites propagate exactly the attitudes depicted by Weiner.

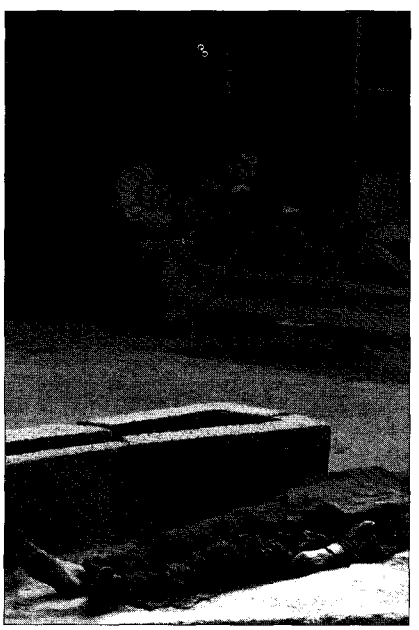
This elite opinion will also make itself felt in West European government policy. These governments just now are rushing to repair relations with Washington, but that won't last. After a brief interval of repairing Atlantic relations, the French and German governments are likely to revert to their pre-crisis attitudes, in which anti-Americanism was a vital element, half concealed but growing steadily more prominent. Europe's humiliation over Iraq, far from occasioning second thoughts, is accelerating the drive toward creating a European rival to American power: The European Parliament has just voted overwhelmingly to establish a "European Armaments and Research Agency"; a Franco-German-Belgian summit on speeding up the creation of a European defense force is about to take place; a new federalist European constitution is just around the corner.

If Bush wants to reverse this powerful trend, he will have to counterpose a vision of equal power and attractiveness to the "European idea" that animates his opponents. Both isolationism and the "global interventionism" advocated by some neoconservatives would further accelerate the Euro-nationalist trend. That leaves a revived Atlanticism, in which the U.S. would seek like-minded political allies throughout the Continent and seek to reshape the EU along free-market and pro-American lines. To take hold, such an Atlanticism would require a sense of crisis—and in Europe, this is now at hand. Economic, social, and demographic trends show Europe declining and America growing: By 2050 the U.S. economy will be almost three times the size of the current EU economy. Taken together, however, the U.S. and the EU would amount to almost 40 percent of world gross domestic product. In other words, Europe's clout is bound to diminish vis-à-vis the U.S. and every other region—unless it is part of a united West enjoying a global economic and political dominance.

Such facts are a powerful antidote to a reflexive anti-Americanism, but that's not enough: Atlanticist Europeans also need to see vigorous leadership from the White House. America's European policy has been drifting along on a pro-EU autopilot since the end of the Cold War. What is now needed is a major rethink, along the above lines. President Bush has shown he has the courage thing needed for such a dramatic initiative. Does he also have the vision thing? **NR**

at war scenes

A corpse lies on the sidewalk outside a Baghdad café. April 9, 2003.



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■ AT WAR

The Great Sorting Out

Iraq has been reborn; how shall it grow up?

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

VIOLENCE is latent in Iraq, but with forethought and goodwill retired general Jay Garner and the several hundred other American officials of the newly formed Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance should be able to contain and defang it. The initial outburst of looting in Iraqi cities has struck some as an unwelcome surprise. But looting happens in war, and even more in the vacuum created by the collapse of a totalitarian regime.

Everyone was looting in Germany in 1945, including from art collections and museums. In Yeltsin's Russia, everyone knew Communism had stolen so much from them that they felt impelled to take back anything they could, by whatever means. Saddam Hussein stole the whole of Iraq, and the looters are also only trying to lay hands on a little of their own. Why, as a war correspondent in the Six Day War of 1967, I took from a Syrian trench a copy of Balzac's *Père Goriot* in Russian, presumably abandoned by a Soviet adviser.

Looting in Iraq is also low-level ethnic protest, though it has the potential to explode into revenge killings on a large scale. Almost to a man, Saddam and his Ba'ath party loyalists were Sunni Muslims. Comprising only about a fifth of the population, the Sunnis are traditionally accustomed to rule—which has meant the exercise of unquestioned supremacy over everyone else. Iraqi Kurds, who are Muslims but not Arabs, are approximately equivalent in numbers to the Sunni. Shia Muslims, however, form a majority of the population, maybe as much as two-thirds. Among Kurds and Shia there are tribal chiefs and grandees, but in general terms they have been controlled by the Sunnis by means of enforced poverty, imprisonment, and torture. The shoe is now on the other foot. The looters and expropriators are Shia and Kurds; those being looted and expropriated are Sunnis. Some blameless Sunnis are therefore having to pay for other criminal Sunnis. Gen. Garner and his officials are going to have to sort out those who would like to perpetuate the old tyranny from those innocent Sunnis genuinely protesting against new anarchy.

Sunni supremacy dates from the days when Iraq was merely three provinces within the Ottoman Empire, itself Sunni Muslim. After the First World War, the British conquered these three provinces and invented a nation-state out of them. In the belief that they were respecting custom, they then set up a Sunni king to rule it, and a parliament supposedly representing the religious and ethnic communities. The British civil administrator, Sir Arnold Wilson, and several prominent Shia leaders, warned that this arrangement was sure to provoke the Shia to rebel. And so it did. The British suppressed the rebellion, but soon admitted that they could not devise a way of ruling the country, declared it independent, and went home. Sunni military dictators, each more murderous than the last, duly overwhelmed the monarchy, the anemic parliament, and the standing of Kurds, Shia, and all.

The looters and expropriators are Shia and Kurds; those being looted and expropriated are Sunnis.

Like the British before them, President Bush and senior members of his administration emphasize that they are bringing freedom and democracy to Iraq. How to translate that aspiration into policy? The difficulties which faced Sir Arnold Wilson over 80 years ago persist. The eventual government of Iraq will have to be as genuinely representative as possible, not an exclusive Sunni or Shia or Kurd benefit system. Far from thinking this through and establishing a government-in-waiting, the State Department and the Pentagon are openly engaged in a wrestling match over their respective Iraqi candidates for office.

The State Department hopes to rescue from retirement Adnan Pachachi, an 80-year-old former foreign minister. His career was based on Arab nationalism and hatred of Israel. But he is a Sunni, and so his backers are set to repeat the British mistake of promoting someone from that minority without sufficient concern for everyone else.

Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of it, democracy is based on pluralities. This puts the Shia in a strong position. Many of their most capable spokesmen long ago fled into exile. The most articulate and forceful of them is Ahmad Chalabi, a member of a prominent family and secular in outlook, with a degree from MIT. Consistently supported by the Pentagon, he founded and now leads the Iraqi National Congress, an embryo political party as well as a movement of national liberation. But every time he takes a step forward, the State Department pushes him back. The CIA has long maintained that Chalabi has no popular support. A few days after the ground assault began, the CIA went so far as to issue a report to the effect that Chalabi should not replace Saddam. In reality he is very much his own man, but the only serious argument his detractors can offer is that he might be perceived as an American puppet. As the war progressed, he flew in from Iraqi Kurdistan to newly liberated Nasiriya, with some hundreds of para-military supporters. Nearby in the small and dusty town of Shatra he set up headquarters in a disused warehouse. According to some sources, people have never heard of him, asking "Ahmad who?" According to other sources, he is cheered in the streets.

A political vacuum is a surefire recipe for disorder. In Basra, for instance, the British military could not cope with the looting. Marvelously true to ingrained colonial experience, they tried to set up in authority a local tribal sheikh by the name of Muzahim Mustafa Kanan Tamimi. They were not to know that sev-

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor and the author of *The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.*

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eral Tamimis were among Saddam's supporters, and this sheikh was compromised too. A spontaneous riot erupted.

Something similar happened in Najaf, a city famous for its Shia shrines and madrassahs. The 75-year-old Ayatollah Ali Muhammad Sistani is the most authoritative of Iraq's Shia ayatollahs. Since 1988, he has been under house arrest in Najaf. As coalition forces approached the city, he called on the population not to resist. Unknown people then issued an ultimatum requiring him to leave the country within 48 hours; he stayed put. Returning to Najaf from exile in London, another ayatollah, Abdul Majid al-Khoie, went to meet yet a third ayatollah; both seem to have had guns and in a mysterious brawl both were killed. Nobody knows whether political or personal antagonisms were behind these deaths. Enlightened and competent as Gen. Garner and his staff may be, they are outsiders unfitted to know the inner lives of the Tamimis and other tribes, or to pass sound judgments on the conduct of ayatollahs. Defecting Ba'athists, would-be collaborators, and turncoats and opportunists will easily talk them into making mistakes great and small.

There is an instructive precedent. In 1982 the Israelis entered Beirut, another Arab capital. Their purpose was to free Lebanon from the grip of the Palestine Liberation Organization then terrorizing the country and attacking Israel; and beyond that, to remake the social order by installing as president Bashir Gemayel, a Maronite Christian, and a supposed ally. Shias constitute about half the population of Lebanon, and as Israeli columns entered their villages Shias threw flowers at them, rejoicing in their liberation from the PLO. But as soon as they expelled the PLO overseas to Tunis, the Israelis found themselves entangled in local and regional power politics.

Perceiving Israel as a threat to his own ambitions in Lebanon, Hafez Assad, then president of Syria, set about frustrating any idea of remaking the social order. He arranged for a bomb to kill Bashir Gemayel in his office. Maronites took their revenge in the notorious Sabra and Shatila massacres, and the religious and ethnic communities broke into free-for-all fighting. When the United States sent in troops to keep the peace, another suicide bomber, probably Iranian, exploded his vehicle in their barracks, killing 241 Marines. Committing one of his rare mistakes, President Reagan recalled the troops. The Osama bin Ladens of the world concluded that terror paid off. A single bomb was evidently stronger than the United States.

The Israeli experience in Lebanon indicates that the United States can liberate Iraq and even keep a garrison in the background in case of emergency—especially with neighbors like Iran and Syria—but Iraqis are going to have to remake their country for themselves. Fortunately they are capable people, and will not long be needing the services of Gen. Garner. It hardly matters who is right about the qualifications or otherwise of Ahmad Chalabi. He's the only candidate in sight for the task ahead. Let him get on with his plan of summoning a convention of all interested parties to establish a democratic constitution. And should elections after that throw up someone who can do a better job than he, then that will be proof of freedom too. **NR**

at war scenes

Iraqis signal success after looting in central Basra. April 7, 2003.

ANJA NIEDRINGHAUS/AP

■ AT WAR

The Road to Damascus

What the recent toppling means to that other Ba'athist state

MEYRAV WURMSER

Most of the world's TV stations broadcast images of toppling Saddam statues. Not in Syria, though: When the Iraqi regime fell, Syrian TV suddenly changed its format and broadcast history films. The country's state-controlled media had not ignored the war in Iraq up until that point. Quite the opposite: They had closely, albeit stiltedly, followed the war's every gruesome twist, and reveled in heartrending scenes of dying civilians. But they just could not bring themselves to report the collapse of the neighboring Ba'athist regime.

The actions of the Syrian government were even more surprising: It swam toward the sinking ship. President Bashar Assad had said before the war that he intended to assist Saddam Hussein. Evoking the occupation of Baghdad by Mongolians in 1258, he declared: "This time some Arab capitals will stand beside Baghdad. When I talk about some Arab capitals, it does not make sense to exclude Syria, which is the closest and at the heart of battles against invaders, because [Syria] is the heart of Arabism." Assad was true to his word. Over the past few weeks defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld has accused Damascus of supplying Baghdad with military equipment; and secretary of state Colin Powell said that Syria would bear responsibility for its aid to terrorists. Syria remained defiant. As Baghdad was falling, Syrian foreign minister Farouk al-Sharaa said his country would not stop volunteers heading to Iraq, via Syria, to fight U.S. troops.

Meyrav Wurmser is the director of the Center for Middle East Policy at the Hudson Institute.

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What explains this seemingly suicidal policy? Why—in the wake of such an impressive display of U.S. power and resolve—did Assad throw caution to the wind and decide to risk being America's next target? After all, soon after 9/11 he had cautiously cooperated with the U.S. by arresting a few members of an al-Qaeda affiliate terror group. He seemed, then, to understand the need to avoid America's wrath.

The explanation is despair, and the nature of the ideology that motivates the regime. Despite the fact that relations between the Ba'athist regimes in Baghdad and Damascus were always strained, tyranny's collapse in Iraq threatens nobody in the Arab world more than the Ba'athists in Syria. They now face the challenge of maintaining their control over a population that, for the first time, can realistically dream of freedom.

Syria's attitude toward the U.S. follows the logic of frightened tyrannies.

Syria's confrontational attitude toward the U.S. is thus not irrational. It follows the logic of frightened tyrannies, which become more aggressive as their grip on their population is threatened. Even before Washington issued public warnings to Damascus, Assad gave an interview to the pro-Syrian Lebanese paper *Al-Safir* admitting that Syria feels threatened by the war, and that he believes that Syria could become the next U.S. target.

This new shrillness in Damascus reflected Syria's deepening fear. After Afghanistan, Assad could accept a limited, "tactical" cooperation with the U.S. He acted against the renegade al-Qaeda group—which Syria opposed anyway—because doing so did not diminish his larger ability to continue to confront the U.S. He would surrender a finger (al-Qaeda's minor offshoot) to save an arm (Hezbollah and other terrorist groups). Furthermore, Damascus saw the war in Afghanistan less as a war for freedom than as a vengeful reaction to 9/11, aimed narrowly at destroying the Taliban and al-Qaeda. After Iraq, however, it is becoming clear to Syria that America's war on terrorism is of substantially larger scope: It is a war about freedom, and as such it threatens the Syrian regime's very existence. For Assad, the risks of inaction now outweigh the risks of action.

And his actions are based directly on the regime's anti-American ideology. Ba'athism—a feeble local fusion of Communism and romantic German national socialism—views America as a mortal foe, whose very nature as a symbol of individual freedom can be neither digested nor tolerated by an enslaving regime.

In this regard, Syria is a microcosm of what ails the entire region: It exposes the current Middle Eastern vacuum of good ideas. For a century, the Arab world has been energized by the hope that it could overcome its weaknesses and societal ills by the sheer force of numbers—*once it became united*. Unity would create an empire of all Arabs or, even better, all Muslims. Bin Ladenism is just the most recent chapter in this long story. Until now, no Middle Eastern democracy could be created because the region has been gripped by ideas—pan-Arab nationalism, on the secular end, and pan-Islamic fundamentalism, on the religious end—that focus on supra-nationalist notions of community, and the quest for ideological unity at the expense of individual freedom, citizenship, and the delimited nation-state. The pan-Arab and pan-Islamic ideas had only limited success, but they have continued to capture the imagination of young Arabs and Muslims because no other choices were being offered.

Ba'athist ideology is part of this whirlpool. It rests on the double pillars of socialism and secular Arab nationalism. Its focus on Arab unity means that the Syrian regime strives to transcend the Syrian state and replace it with the union of all Arabs. The Ba'ath teaches that only when the Arabs unite will they restore their past grandeur as the world's leading civilization. Syria thus represents the most intense form of the general malaise afflicting the Arab world, and the most extreme of its desperate reactions. But our quarrel with Syria is just a token of our future predicament with the rest of the region's dictators: We should get ready for similar confrontations and mischief throughout the Middle East.

Although the regime we fought in Iraq was secular, our actions struck at the heart of religious despotism as well. (This is why jihadists—al-Qaeda and others—flocked to Iraq's defense, even though they loathed its government on religious grounds.) Because we have mortally challenged both kinds of tyranny, we now have a unique opportunity to fill the region's vacuum of ideas. This gives our current military victory a broader purpose: securing a permanent regional political change. Our ideas are our most powerful weapon, and we should not shirk from wielding them to trigger such a profound change.

Our action has the potential to trigger the greatest revolution in the region in many generations. Democratic ideas can answer the failure of both pan-Islamic and pan-Arab worldviews. Despite the shock value of the 9/11 attacks, Islamic fundamentalism has failed to gather momentum. The attacks did not defeat America. On the contrary: America came to fight in the heart of the Islamic world and is now defeating Arab tyranny. Similarly, little more remains of Arab nationalism than empty phrases and the bravado of information ministers. For all its bluster, Syria could do nothing to save the failed Iraqi regime. It is also largely impotent to challenge the new American-inspired Middle Eastern order. Syria alone remains the flag-bearer of a failed ideology that brought only war, oppression, and disaster to millions in the Arab world.

The temptation of freedom is indivisible. What just transpired in Baghdad cannot be easily contained by even the most repressive security apparatus. The U.S. need not go to war with Damascus, unless Damascus chooses to make a violent last stand, either directly or by employing terrorism. We should, however, launch a war of ideas. We should pursue regime change by crafting a policy that channels our post-Iraq momentum into a focused pressure on the Syrian regime's legitimacy. Some useful, feasible actions include: denouncing, in every forum, Syria's occupation of Lebanon; reminding the world it is a tyranny; holding it accountable for supporting terror; ceasing official governmental contacts. The list is practically endless. Since Syria cannot avoid confronting the U.S., the U.S. can make its addiction to confrontation fatal. If we succeed, our power and ideas may succeed in giving the Syrian people the same new hope the Iraqis have already celebrated in the streets. **NR**

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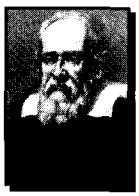
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■ AT WAR

President of the World

The wonderful, sad, and ultimately outrageous Kofi Annan

JAY NORDLINGER

If you like the U.N., you love Kofi Annan. The current secretary general represents the best of U.N. Man. He is dignified, uncorrupt, and earnest. He brings a certain calm to what can be a noxious circus. But, as we have seen in recent weeks, even the best of U.N. Man is a letdown—because the rot lies in the organization itself.

When the Iraq war commenced, Annan remained at center stage—or at least near it. He had done everything he could to prevent the war. He told the press, "Perhaps if we had persevered a little longer . . ." Yes, with the U.N., it was always "a little longer"—over a period of years. Annan was pleased, however, by the prominence of the U.N. in the run-up to the war: "Over the past weeks, the peoples of the world have shown what great importance they attach to the legitimacy conveyed by the authority of the United Nations. They have made clear that, in confronting uncertainty and danger, they want to see power harnessed to legitimacy." And without the U.N.—no legitimacy. It is a theme of Annan's speech, and career. Probably the main one.

Annan was also pleased with what he called the "popular movement" against the war: "I have never seen a situation where, before a shot is fired, you have millions taking to the streets." He seemed to show no awareness that those under tyranny did not have the right to protest at all (except as the relevant regime directed, or permitted). His "thoughts," he said, were "with the Iraqi people, who face yet another ordeal." By "ordeal," Annan meant war, and wars, and not the Iraqis' daily life under their dictator: rape, torture, children's prisons, and so on.

As the war progressed, Annan spoke as he always speaks: in perfect U.N.-ese, as a perfect neutral, looking out for the "integrity" of the U.N., mindful of the needs of the "Member States." He spoke of "the belligerents," and "both sides": the democratic Allies and Iraq (meaning Saddam Hussein). "Both sides," he said, were "responsible for the welfare and safety of the people." "Both sides" had a duty to treat prisoners of war "humanely" and "in accordance with international law"—as if the Allies were not in conformity, and Saddam's forces were not torturing and executing prisoners.

He asked for the prompt resumption of the "oil for food" program, ignoring the fact—confirmed by Allied soldiers—that Saddam was hoarding any food, for the benefit of his Republican Guards and other regime favorites. Annan fretted over a "humanitarian disaster" in Basra, where water and electricity had been cut off. It was rather late in the day for the U.N. to worry about the well-being of ordinary Iraqis. Indeed, as one man in Safwan told an "embedded" reporter, "You're late. What took you so long?" His brother and son had been executed under the regime.

After the media reported that an Allied bomb had (mistakenly) hit a Baghdad market, Annan took to the microphones to express his "increasing concern" about "humanitarian casualties in this conflict." He seemed to be scolding the United States and its allies, causing apoplexy among certain supporters of the war. He issued no protestations over Iraqi bombs, which were lobbed quite deliberately at civilians. (In this, admittedly, Annan seemed less neutral.)

In the second week of the campaign, the secretary general, feeling his oats, wished for a ceasefire, wanting the Allies to stop short of reaching Saddam. "I have always said war is a human catastrophe," he explained, "and, in fact, in war, all are losers." Even the liberated, presumably. Nor had he ever "justified or supported this war." Speaking for his organization, he said, "Obviously, there is lots of unhappiness in this building." He gave the impression—as he often does, in his sanctimony—that only he cared about the fate of Iraqis. But Randy Scheunemann, president of the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq, in Washington, provided a sharp and truthful rebuke: "The armed forces . . . have done more to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people in 19 days than the U.N. has done in 19 years."

Annan called the war his "most difficult" moment—because the prevention of war had been his highest goal, no matter what the rhetoric about "disarming" Saddam Hussein. To him, all the governments, regimes, and thugocracies in the world are "Member States," to be placated and harmonized. Sure, he now speaks of Pol Pot as a "criminal," with the old monster out of power for 25 years—and dead, for that matter. But if Annan had been secretary general in the time of Pol Pot? Cambodia would have been just another esteemed "Member State," hardly different in U.N. eyes from New Zealand. Perhaps Saddam Hussein, in time, will become another one of Annan's "criminals."

It is hard for Americans to understand the extremely high regard in which Europeans hold the U.N. Others have a

DARREN GYGI

Kofi Annan

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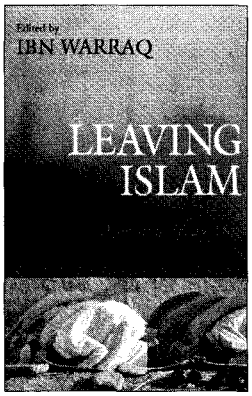

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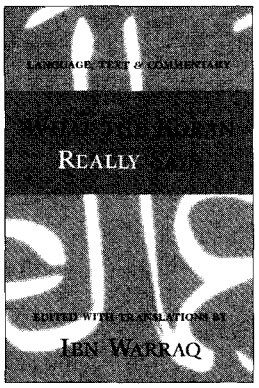

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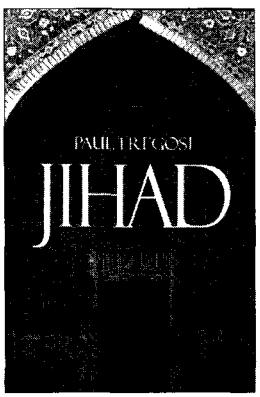

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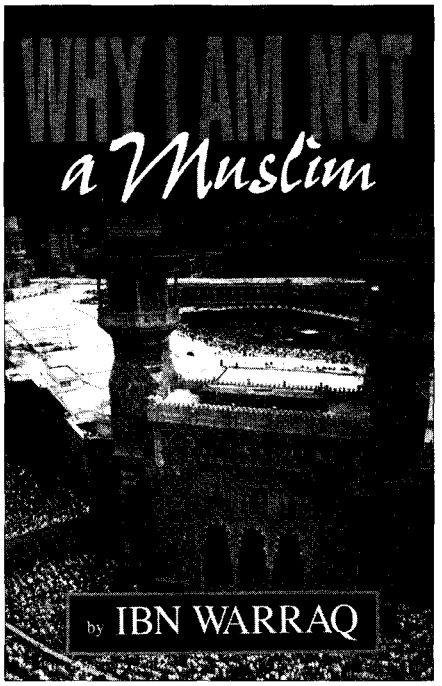

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similar regard. Americans tend to view the U.N. as a curiosity, or as a nice idea, or as a nuisance to be borne. But to much of the planet, the U.N. is paramount, and Kofi Annan is president of the world—a "secular pope," as he has been called. Other nations, feeling especially weak in the era of one superpower, seek their influence in the collectivity at Turtle Bay. It is the secretary general's job to embody that collectivity. Back in 1996, Annan remarked, "I have 185 masters." That number is higher now. And in the perverse equality of the United Nations, Iraq can head the disarmament council, whenever its spot in the alphabet comes up. Libya is now in the chair of the U.N. human-rights commission—Quaddafi's Libya. Syria and Cuba are among the other Schweitzerian states that serve on it. The only nation that has something like pariah status in the U.N. is the only democracy in the Middle East—you know who. It is the only nation barred from serving on the Security Council.

Annan had spent much of his tenure trying to save Saddam Hussein—or, as he and his defenders would put it, to stave off armed conflict. In 1998, the dictator was irked at UNSCOM, the inspections body. So Annan flew over in a mission of "pure appeasement," as Scheunemann puts it. What's more, he flew over on Jacques Chirac's presidential jet. As Philip Gourevitch noted in an article for *The New Yorker*, Chirac asked the secretary general "to extend his personal greetings to Saddam." Once in Baghdad, Annan smoked Cuban cigars with the dictator—six of them (Lanceros de Cohibas)—and struck a deal. This is a deal that, in short, cut UNSCOM's legs off. Annan and Saddam praised each other's "courage." Annan further commended the dictator as a "builder." Later, he described him as "a man I can do business with." (In this, Annan was probably thinking of Margaret Thatcher, on Gorbachev.)

The inspectors, of course—more serious in those pre-Blixian days—understood themselves to have been betrayed. Their chief, Richard Butler, claimed that Annan had tried to "destroy" UNSCOM because it was "too independent." The secretary general was responding to Saddam's violations by "papering them over with diplomacy." Annan has said—with simple reason—"I know that some people have accused me of using diplomacy. That's my job. That's what I'm paid for." So this "diplomacy" went on, as it would have indefinitely.

Annan, the seventh secretary general, is a total creature of the U.N. He is the first to rise entirely within U.N. ranks. He has been there almost continuously since 1962. The U.N. is his guiding star, and his reverence for it could be touching, if it did not have such dismaying effects. His language is that of "international law," that stellar shibboleth. Asked about suicide bombers, he said that "most people" would hold their attacks to be "illegal"! As a revitalizer of the U.N., Annan is seen as a check on America, the "hyper-power" that is in urgent need of checking. For his trouble, he has received a "Profile in Courage" award from the Kennedy family, and, of course, the big one from the Nobel committee. The Peace Prize came only a month after September 11. The committee was "sending a message," as they say. One year later, they would send another one—in the form of a prize to Jimmy Carter (who is Oslo's—and the U.N.'s—kind of American).

Conservatives and some others warn that there will be a reckoning with the United Nations. Annan, however, is confident. The U.N. must "recover its rightful role," he says—and of course have preeminence in postwar Iraq. He believes that "the United Nations family"—ah, yes, the family! The U.S., Syria, Cuba . . . —will emerge "more relevant than ever." The cowboy war in Iraq will prove only a temporary usurpation of U.N. authority; the stars will return to their courses.

Will the Bush administration oblige Annan? A national-security official reflects, "We are of two minds on the U.N. Our gut says, 'Forget about them.' Our brain probably says, 'There may be a time when we need the U.N.: to do things that we either can't do or don't want to do.' We will probably pick and choose among U.N. bodies, supporting some and not supporting others." Ronald Reagan yanked the U.S. out of UNESCO, and, 18 years later, after significant reform, George W. Bush allowed readmission. The United Nations is chastenable, by a U.S. willing to do so.

But the U.N. will always retain its screwy amorality, whereby democratic presidents and totalitarian thugs have equal footing. This is not "the united nations," as Solzhenitsyn says, but "the united governments," for good or ill (often ill). Kofi Annan is their servant, and best face. He is less sinister than Kurt Waldheim, less nugatory than Javier Perez de Cuellar, less hapless than Boutros Boutros-Ghali. But from the point of view of "law and liberty," as Orwell put it—real law, and real liberty—the best of them still stinks. **NR**

at war scenes

Members of A Company, 3rd Battalion, 7th Infantry Regiment, take a break in one of Saddam Hussein's palaces in Baghdad. April 7, 2003.

JOHN MOORE/AP

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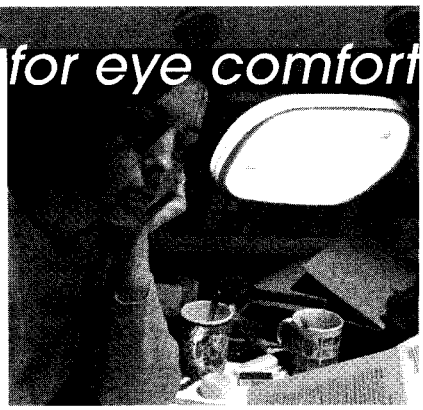

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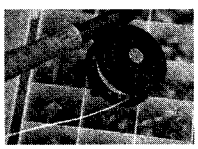

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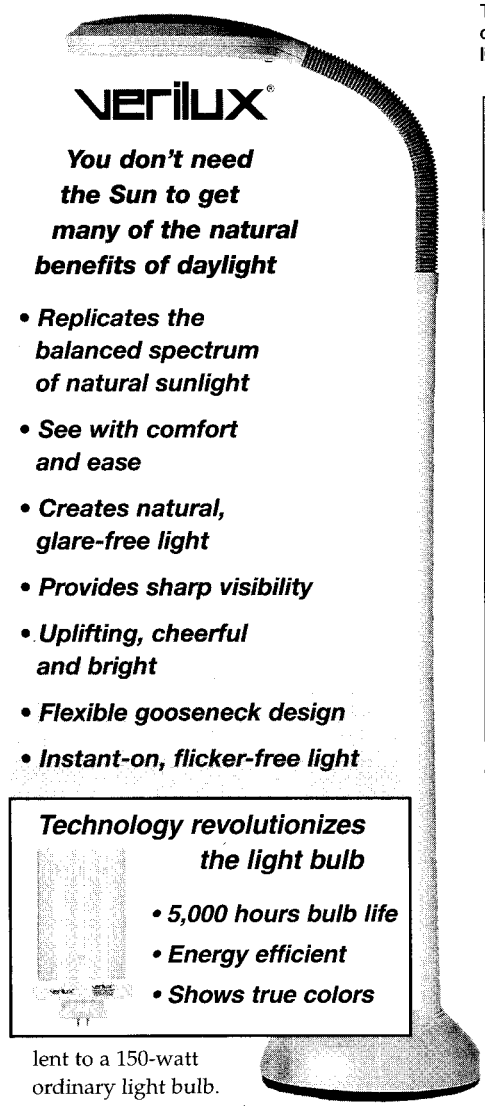

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■ AT WAR

Off the Air

Radio and TV for Free Iraq have been MIA

JOHN J. MILLER

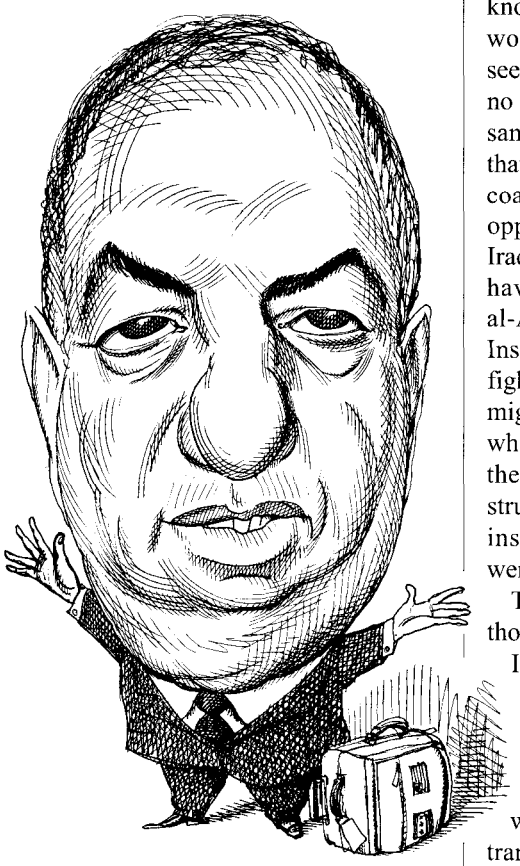
WHEN troops with the Army's 101st Airborne Division approached the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf on April 3, they didn't expect to face resistance from Iraqi civilians. The Grand Ayatollah Sistani had agreed to meet with the U.S. commander, but asked that soldiers first secure the compound surrounding his shrine, which is a holy site for Shia Muslims. Yet the city's inhabitants hadn't heard of the arrangement. Fearing that the Americans might trample sacred ground, they poured into the street and shouted at the troops. "They've got to understand that [Sistani] wants us here," a frustrated colonel told an embedded CNN reporter. The officer made a quick decision: He ordered his men to kneel and point their weapons at the ground. Many of the Iraqis then sat down. Tensions eased, but not altogether. The Americans ultimately pulled back because they couldn't talk with the Iraqis.

There's going to be a communications gap anytime American soldiers show up in a foreign country where English isn't widely spoken. The military does what it can to minimize difficulties. Before the war started, for instance, planes dropped countless leaflets assuring citizens that the United States was fighting Saddam Hussein's regime and not the Iraqi people. Also, translators travel with many units, though they've been in short supply, as the Najaf incident reveals. But there's one simple step the government didn't take that might have helped: It didn't establish a TV station run by Iraqi opposition groups. This failure may already have cost lives—and it foreshadows problems that await the Bush administration as it prepares to establish civil order in Iraq.

On March 31, five Republican senators—Sam Brownback of Kansas, Norm Coleman of Minnesota, Jon Kyl and John McCain of Arizona, and Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania—complained about this in a letter to the White House. "The fact that we are at war with Saddam's regime and *still* not fully funding the Iraqi opposition in their struggle to achieve the same goal is wrong," they wrote. Specifically, they were concerned that the State Department had not released millions of dollars previously appropriated to the Iraqi National Congress, a union of opposition groups that hoped to operate a television station called TV Liberty, among other vital efforts. "Mr. President, we ask that you personally clear the bureaucratic road blocks from within the State Department and free up the authorized funding now."

Two days later, the State Department released $4 million to the INC—some two weeks after the war had started. "Now it will take a little while for this funding to do what it should have done long ago," says Kyl.

The failure to set up an opposition TV station is startling. Broadcasts could play a central role in any hearts-and-minds operation aimed at the Iraqi public. Ordinary Iraqis, after all, have had few alternatives to Saddam TV. Satellite dishes are a rarity. Even if they weren't, most of the Arab media are hostile to the war effort. Kuwait's station isn't, and its signal can reach Basra and other parts of southern Iraq, but most of the country lies beyond its reach, including Baghdad. The Kurds have a station in the north, but their Kurdish-language broadcasts command only a tiny market share in areas they don't already control. For the majority of TV viewers, it was all Saddam, all the time.



ROMAN GENN

Ahmad Chalabi

The news most Iraqis received about the war from their TV sets was downright Orwellian. "There is no presence of the American columns in the city of Baghdad at all," said Iraqi information minister Mohammed Saeed al-Sahhaf on April 7, as U.S. troops entered the city. "We besieged them and we killed most of them. We will slaughter them all."

If the INC's TV Liberty had broadcast competing messages—perhaps from mobile platforms escorted by troops—the people of Baghdad would have known this was a lie. At the least, they would have received information that seemed to confirm the rumors that were no doubt racing through the capital. The same is true for other population centers that didn't quite know what to think of coalition troops as they drew near. "If opposition TV had been beaming into Iraq from the first day, the cities would have fallen like dominoes," says Ali al-Ahmed of the Virginia-based Saudi Institute. "It would have shortened the fighting and saved lives." The broadcasts might have produced intelligence on the whereabouts of Ba'ath party officials or the locations of weapons of mass destruction. Perhaps they even would have inspired popular uprisings. But they were never recorded or transmitted.

TV Liberty has been on the air before, though it went dark last May, when the INC couldn't pay a $25,000 bill to a satellite-uplink provider. Congress had appropriated the money, but the INC's contentious relationship with its Foggy Bottom paymasters led to wrangling over budgets, late money transfers, and finally the cash shortage that caused the station's collapse a year

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ago. Keeping TV Liberty going and letting it build an audience with anti-Saddam programming would have cost the equivalent of about two fully loaded M1-A1 Abrams tanks.

The crux of the problem is resentment of INC leader Ahmad Chalabi. He is a man with roots in Iraqi democracy—his father was president of the Iraqi senate in 1958, when generals seized the government. The Chalabis fled their home, and Ahmad Chalabi received an education in the United States, entering M.I.T. at the age of 16 and earning a Ph.D. in mathematics from the University of Chicago later on. "He's very smart, and that's with a capital V and a capital S," says Richard Perle of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board.

Perle is one of Chalabi's admirers in Washington, a group that includes many congressional conservatives, Bush-administration hawks, and advocates of democracy. Yet the longtime Iraqi exile has plenty of enemies, too. The State Department has never cared for Chalabi or the INC because he and his group stood for regime change throughout the 1990s, when most career bureaucrats found this alarming. By taking a different position, Chalabi is seen as a renegade who can't be controlled. ("Freedom fighters aren't good at taking orders," quips a congressional staffer.) The CIA doesn't like Chalabi either, perhaps because he warned the agency in 1996 that a coup it was planning had been compromised. The plot proceeded, but Chalabi's assessment was correct. Instead of feeling chastened, the CIA felt shown up. It continues to hold a grudge. "Once you antagonize the permanent bureaucracy, there's almost no turning back," says a Defense Department official. "A lot of Washington bureaucrats put personal ego before wise policy." (Another concern of some people involved in postwar planning is Chalabi's ties to Iran—Teheran has reached out to many opposition groups, including the INC.)

So Chalabi's supporters in and out of the Bush administration fight a continual battle to make sure that the INC gets the money it needs. "Once the war got under way, we started getting calls from Iraq and the administration telling us that people were getting killed because there were no TV broadcasts," says a leadership aide in the Senate. On March 27, Chalabi himself phoned Sen. Brownback and said the United States wasn't putting enough of an Iraqi face on Operation Iraqi Freedom. "It was aggravating to hear that," says Brownback. "Parts of our government have been against the INC for years, and that attitude is hindering us in the fight to liberate Iraq."

The problem began to be corrected in early April, when the Pentagon airlifted Chalabi and 700 INC soldiers into southern Iraq, where they could help coalition forces communicate with Iraqi citizens, deliver aid, and identify Saddam loyalists. They're being called the 1st Battalion Free Iraqi Forces. But the INC's troubles are far from over: At the same time, the CIA was circulating a report

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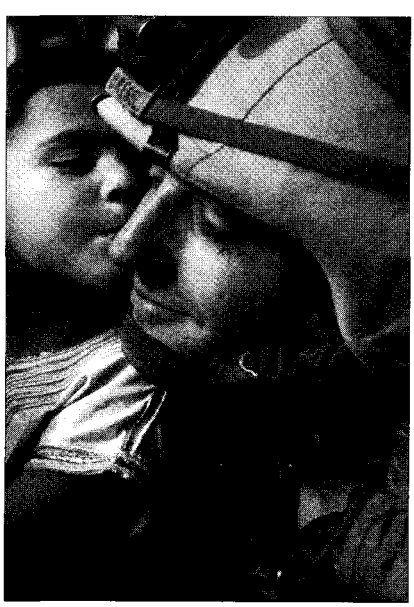
claiming that Chalabi lacks popular support within Iraq, in an attempt to undercut him as Washington was contemplating the country's postwar governance. On April 9, Republican senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska, a Chalabi foe, piled on. He criticized the airlift and said that the United States "cannot select who we think should be in the interim government and put them on the throne. That's the most dangerous thing we could do."

Yet Chalabi's supporters are quick to point out that there's a big difference between helping a legitimate opposition group and installing a particular leader in a liberated Baghdad. "Working with the INC doesn't mean we're picking Iraq's next ruler," says Brownback. The president has said he doesn't want to do that, either. "I hear a lot of talk here about how we're going to impose this leader or that leader. Forget it. From Day One, we have said the Iraqi people are capable of running their own country," said Bush in Northern Ireland on April 8. "The position of the United States of America is, the Iraqis are plenty capable of running Iraq. And that's precisely what is going to happen."

Letting them run their own TV station would be a good start. **NR**

at war scenes

An Iraqi child kisses U.S. Army Spc. John Dresel on the day Baghdad was liberated. April 9, 2003.



JOHN MOORE/AP

■ **AT WAR**

How Cheap Is Your Manhood?

The question of warrior envy

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

"We talked of war. Johnson: 'Every man thinks meanly of himself for not having been a soldier, or not having been at sea.'"
—James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, April 10, 1778

JOHNSON's apothegm has never been truer. I recently passed a casual remark in the online version of this magazine to the effect that many a middle-aged American, watching the impressive achievements of our warriors in Iraq, must be quietly wondering whether perhaps, instead of going from high school to college to grad school to a business career, he might not have gained something by service in the military. Suddenly my e-mail inbox was overflowing. Large numbers of middle-aged American men—and not a few women, too—have indeed been impressed by those confident, personable young soldiers on their TV screens. They have perhaps been especially impressed by the staff at CENTCOM briefings, people like Brig. Gen. Vincent Brooks: self-assured yet modest, well-spoken and respectful even to the more obnoxious journalists, crisply and spotlessly turned out. And yes, many a lawyer, accountant, and CEO is quietly wondering why he never even thought of taking up a military career.

Well, why didn't he? We all know the answer. Across large segments of American society, things military have been seriously unfashionable for three decades. The shadow of Vietnam has been awfully long, and the protesters of the 1960s went on to positions of power and influence in our culture. Recall the standard Hollywood portrayal of the military man this past 30 years: The twitching, anal-retentive, psychopathic U.S.M.C. neighbor in the movie *American Beauty* was a recent manifestation. An entire generation of Americans has been brought up with that stereotype.

This hostile mentality has not been evenly spread across all classes and regions. Much of red-state America has never lost its affection for the armed services. This is particularly true of the South, which still supplies a disproportionate number of military personnel—42 percent of all recruits in the year ending September 30, 2000. But as persistently as the Warrior South maintains its affection, our cognitive elites preserve their animosity. Just as the memory of Vietnam began to recede, leftist intellectuals found a new rationale for their (to borrow a word from one of the more egregious specimens) "loathing" of the military in the controversy over whether gays should serve. This became a reason to maintain the late-1960s exclusions of ROTC from elite university campuses. Only four of the eight Ivy League colleges currently have on-campus ROTC activities. Students at the other four can participate off campus, but the "off" is sometimes discouragingly far. A Yale student has to drive 75 miles to the University of Connecticut for ROTC.

It is perhaps too much to hope that the new enthusiasm for the military among readers of National Review Online will be reflected in the academy anytime soon, but the response of those readers is encouraging nonetheless. Some interesting questions arise, though. Why, for example, did this surge of "warrior envy" not happen back in 1991, after the first Gulf War? The main reason is probably the ambiguous result of that war. Though in strict logic the war aim—expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait—was achieved, few felt that Operation Desert Storm had been a complete or fully satisfying victory. Even for those of us who exulted in the liberation of Kuwait, the exultation turned bitter in our mouths

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when we saw the betrayal of the freedom fighters in southern Iraq after the armistice.

And, of course, there is 9/11. Watching TV the other evening, my mind slack and at ease ("at ease"!) from a day of mental labor, I saw some footage of a tall Iraqi office building going up in flames. My first thought was: *Good! They did it to ours, now we're doing it to theirs.* That response does not, of course, stand up to a moment's logical scrutiny; but if it is the instinctive reaction of one as good-natured (ask anybody) as I am, I'm willing to bet it is rather widespread among my fellow citizens. America has a score to settle, which was not the case in 1991. Those who are doing the settling, or acting to prevent the repetition of 9/11-type horrors, naturally excite our admiration and gratitude.

To the degree that warrior envy is a species of regret for misspent youth, there is, pending the invention of a Time Machine, no real cure. If, however, you want to make some amends for your former neglect of the military aspect of citizenship, there are a number of things you can do. In the first place, you may still be able to enlist. The reserves and National Guard accept new enlistees and officers in their mid thirties. One of my e-mailers joined the Navy Reserve as a Petty Officer 2nd Class at age 34, and after 9/11 was mobilized for twelve months of active duty in the Far East. He reports: "It was a long year for my wife and daughters, but I believe the sacrifice was meaningful and important."

Even beyond the mid thirties, there are options for military service. In addition to the Army National Guard, Air National Guard, and Naval Militia, my own state has a fourth division of its military forces: the New York Guard, which accepts recruits "in reasonably good health" of any age over 18. National Review Online's Dave Konig joined the New York Guard after 9/11 and wrote of his experiences in this magazine ("The Itch to Serve," July 1, 2002). Other states have similar arrangements. Tenth Amendment enthusiasts should note that the state guard reports only to the adjutant general and governor of the state, who have no authority to federalize it. They may, of course, instruct it to assist federal forces, but they cannot send it outside the state. It is thus the most purely state-run of all militia units.

If health excludes you from service in your state militia, all is not lost. You can pay your respects by joining one of the reenactment societies that flourish all over the country. My own township is celebrating its 350th anniversary this year, and we have enjoyed much entertainment and instruction from the local corps of Revolutionary War reenactors. If even that is beyond your scope, the graves of our veterans need constant attention. Many military graves are not decorated annually, as they should be, for want of manpower. A local American Legion or VFW post will have instructions on how to volunteer for these tasks, which can be carried out by people of any age or physical condition.

And, in lieu of anything else, there is a simple but vitally important service that all of us with children or grandchildren can perform without even stirring from our armchairs. We can teach the little ones to honor and respect our nation's military, to understand that the obligations of free citizens go beyond just voting and paying taxes, and to be ready, when duty calls, to take up arms in defense of our freedoms—not grudgingly, with a sigh of resignation, but cheerfully, with spirit and pride, like Americans! **NR**

■ **AT WAR**

An Army That Drawls

Johnny Reb goes to Iraq, and everywhere else

DAVE SHIFLETT

Midlothian, Va.

War is indeed hell, as many a poor Iraqi regular has learned over the past weeks. The Hussein family has found out, too. Could be that Uday and Qusay resemble pâté these days, along with the old man—and good riddance.

War may be hell, but here in the South, there's a special appreciation for it, and for warriors. The largest pro-war rallies were said to be held in southern cities; by one account Houston's topped the chart

Mr. Shiflett is a member of the White House Writers Group.

at war scenes

Marines fight in the outskirts of Nasiriyah. March 27, 2003.

CRIS BOURONCLE/AFP

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with 10,000 celebrants. More to the point, many southerners assume they are considered first among equals when it comes time to draw the sabers. When it comes to war, and indeed all things military, they enjoy heightened respect.

Of this there is no doubt. The southern drawl, after all, is hardly the preferred accent in most professions. A brilliant academic vying for the presidency of an Ivy League school faces a massive hurdle if he sounds like Gomer Pyle. The same is true for Southrons seeking high-profile CEO slots, media jobs, and even a place in the pulpit, at least outside the South itself. In fact, a lot of *southern* jobs are off limits to those with a hick inflection. I was once turned down for a radio job because of my accent—in Richmond, Va., no less.

It is also safe to say that many if not most Americans will experience the tightening of certain muscles, plus a sudden shortness of breath, should the pilot of their departing jetliner introduce himself with a Gomerian twang. Even southern politicians on the rise are likely to shed most of their accent, if they ever had one. That ambitious trial lawyer from North Carolina, Jim-Bob Edwards, sounds about as southern as a bagel.

But there is one area of life where a drawl won't hurt you: the military. It might even help. While the West is known for rugged individualists (save for California, which provides wine, women, and tap dancers), the Midwest for solid citizens, and the Northeast for industrialists, intellectuals, and ethnic sham artists, the South is the land of grunts and generals.

None is better known, at least today, than Gen. Tommy Franks, supreme leader of the U.S. Central Command. Gen. Franks, who is know as "Pooh" by his grandkids, was born in Oklahoma but raised in Texas. His pedigree is stellar: After graduating from Robert E. Lee High School in Midlands, Franks slipped into the University of Texas for a short time, then departed for military colleges and the military. The rest is history, and a brilliant history at that. Indeed, it is a point of pride among many sons and daughters of Dixie that under Gen. Franks's direction our forces have turned the region that once hosted the Garden of Eden into a smoldering wasteland. At the same time, we know exactly what retired rear admiral Craig Quigley meant when he said of Gen. Franks: "Anybody who mistakes that slow, Texas drawl for anything other than the sharpest of minds is making an incredibly bad mistake." If you sound southern, you're assumed to be dim at best.

But you might also be taken more seriously when words such as "reddie, ayem, fahr" depart your lips. There's not space to list very many of the great southern warriors, though a few should be noted. In the beginning was George Washington, of Virginia, who happens to be Gen. Franks's number-one hero. Washington and his ragtag army whipped the greatest power of their day (with the help of one of the last decent Frenchmen on earth, Lafayette). They also utilized well-tested southern military strategies, such as firing from ambush.

When it comes to war, and indeed all things military, southerners enjoy heightened respect.

Then came the War Between the States, which produced such military luminaries as R. E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, J. E. B. Stuart, and the uncommonly ferocious Nathan Bedford Forrest, who is said to have sliced adversaries in half with his mighty sword, perhaps while grinning. Tennessee's Alvin York was the greatest hero of World War I, and the South was also well represented in the second. George Patton, for instance, was a Californian but attended the Virginia Military Institute, class of 1907. George C. Marshall graduated with the VMI class of 1901. The South has also produced dissidents, to be sure, perhaps most prominently Woodrow Wilson, also of Virginia, who got mixed up in the international brotherhood movement. We attribute that to his servile attitude toward the academic world.

Why do southerners so love Mars? One reason is that the echo of war forever sounds in the Southland. You can hardly turn a corner without finding a plaque dedicated to a war hero or battle, or lift a rock without finding a minnie ball. Battlefields are everywhere. The South is like a big military theme park.

Consider my humble neighborhood, which is about 18 miles or so as the cannon ball flies from St. John's Church, where our nation's greatest rabble-rouser, Patrick Henry, gave his "Liberty or Death" speech. Three miles west of my desk is a Confederate graveyard filled with soldiers who were wounded in battle—and then suffered the fatal calamity of encountering Confederate Medicine. One assumes their discarded arms and legs are scattered through the woods.

Down in Richmond, Monument Avenue features heroic statues of several of the South's most notable militarists—along with a very late addition commemorating the life of tennis great Arthur Ashe. Hollywood Cemetery contains the remains of thousands of Confederate soldiers.

But there's a deeper reason why many southerners like nothing better than a bayonet charge, preferably uphill in a driving rain. It has to do with Brother Death, who is perhaps not so feared in these parts as elsewhere. That is in large part due to the tenacity of the Christian religion, and especially the less watered-down variety. This more fundamental faith advises strongly against fearing death, unless of course there's hellfire in your eternal forecast. That attitude has helped us in many ways besides fostering a deep appreciation for the martial arts. Under its guidance we have provided the world with superior tobacco products, whiskey, and sausage without the hint of a troubled conscience.

To no surprise, our embrace of Brother Death is reflected in a reasonable appreciation for less dramatic forms of violence. Football is a religion in many southern states, especially Texas, and we highly value hunting, bear and alligator wrestling, and armed combat between chickens. Indeed, we understand that the total absence of violence is likely to lead to cultural and moral havoc. Be assured that the child-rearing practice known as the "time out" holds little sway with true southerners, who know that when the rod and lash rule, the young and restless will mind their p's and q's.

The Iraq war appears to be all but over. Southerners will mourn the fallen and welcome home those who survived. It is also true, however, that as President Bush looks toward Syria with that certain gleam in his eye, many a rebel is saying, "What in the hell are you waitin' on?" **NR**

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■ AT WAR

Don Rumsfeld, RADICAL FOR OUR TIME

The defense secretary has ushered in a new era, whose contours we have barely glimpsed

BY VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

THE Taliban defeated without American infantry, and at a cost of fewer than ten U.S. fatalities? Ten thousand Special Operations troops turned loose to work independently in northern Iraq? Not one traditional armored division on the ground near Baghdad? Thousands of GIs rumored soon to be redeployed out of Germany? Troops in the DMZ eyeing transfer southward to Pusan? Past draftees characterized as not as effective as present volunteer professionals? A secretary of defense going head-to-head with seasoned and cynical Washington reporters—and coming off as their moral and intellectual superior?

These are all aspects of the same fundamental question: *What exactly is going on with the American military*? Not since secretary of war Edwin M. Stanton poked his head into every department of the Union Army and Robert McNamara tried to apply corporate business procedures to the Pentagon bureaucracy has a U.S. official exercised such political and military influence as Donald Rumsfeld. But while Stanton was politically inept and McNamara failed at war, so far—27 months into his tenure—Rumsfeld is showing every sign of success. At home, he is steamrolling angry generals and balky diplomats; on the battlefield, he has crushed the Taliban and Saddam Hussein.

But what exactly is Rumsfeld's vision for the future of the U.S. military? The public is unsure, because an array of critics—out of either self-interest or simple ignorance—has caricatured his attempt to reform the armed forces. Their reservoir of ill-will broke out into hysteria during the race to Baghdad, when a pause in fighting—occasioned by horrendous weather conditions and necessary resupply efforts—touched off an eruption of anti-Rumsfeld rhetoric among a few retired generals who had found employment as TV pontificators. Before 9/11, Rumsfeld's efforts to refashion the American military were largely ignored; but they are now being showcased on the world stage, and will be judged on their effectiveness.

Mr. Hanson's recent books include *Carnage and Culture* and *An Autumn of War*.

RESHAPING THE BATTLEFIELD

One key Rumsfeld accomplishment is devising a new role for the Army. It is a serious mistake to suggest, as some have, that Rumsfeld favors the Navy, Air Force, and Marines; in fact, his reforms will probably *enhance* the Army's ground forces. His approach has already paid off in the Iraq war: The Army's Special Forces, 101st and 82nd Airborne Divisions, and 3rd Mechanized Division played a crucial role in the victory. (It was not Rumsfeld but the Turks who thwarted the efforts to open a northern front with at least two more Army divisions. And the 4th Infantry Division has arrived in Iraq on plan and on time, not—as some assert—because of a desperate call-up.)

But while the Army's Bradley fighting vehicles and Abrams tanks were vital in smashing Iraqi defenses and preventing Mogadishu-like nightmares, other things were equally important: the speeding motorized convoys that bypassed initial resistance; the air drops; the irregulars who organized the Kurds; and the small squads of highly trained skirmishers who proved masterful house-to-house fighters. In other words, Rumsfeld's plan was cre-

at war scenes

Rumsfeld, Cheney, and Bush confer outside the Oval Office after the start of Operation Iraqi Freedom. March 22, 2003.

ERIC DRAPER/THE WHITE HOUSE

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ative and successful: Rather than send out tens of thousands of traditional soldiers behind a wall of armor—which would have been a logistical nightmare, requiring perhaps a year or more to assemble in a vulnerable, confined place—Rumsfeld allowed the Army to undertake new responsibilities well beyond its traditional role. The Army has been on the cutting edge in mobilizing and deploying the indigenous forces that have been critically important in our recent Middle East wars. Furthermore, thanks to instantaneous electronic communications between ground forces and pilots, the new Army is not replaced by, but rather essential to, successful air operations.

There remains a need for traditional armored and infantry divisions, but not in the old numbers required to fight two traditional wars simultaneously against Soviet-style ground forces. We would surely need tons of steel and shells to stop a North Korea-style onslaught; but to ensure that such a war is not lost at its very beginning, we will need lighter, more mobile forces that can be rushed to hot spots until the heavy muscle arrives.

In a few months, analysts will begin to appreciate the true audacity of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The Army had access to firepower to a degree never before seen. No tactician has yet quite figured out the force-multiplying effect of quickly achieved air superiority, GPS-guided munitions, and on-the-ground spotters; but surely the destructive power of A-10 fighters, helicopters, and carrier- and land-based bombers that were in service to small Army tactical units was worth the equivalent of 1,000 tanks.

It is this weird alignment of rap music, counterculture adolescent fashion and diction, and popular movies and videos with selfless and heroic action that so astounds the world. Generals of all races give crisp briefings; Arab-American Marines boast of liberating a Muslim city; women brag of flying three combat missions per day; and bearded, hippie-looking Green Berets on horses prefer the company of medieval tribesmen as they radio in bombs from billion-dollar Stealth bombers. This all suggests that the U.S. military is not so much insidious as postmodern. For someone who dresses so formally and insists on protocol, Donald Rumsfeld, it turns out, is actually quite a radical and has helped to turn our military into something that values efficacy and performance far more than habit, tradition, and procedure.

Just two years ago, the slur against today's infantry was that it was "without a mission." No one would have expected that Army to prove itself a proper successor to Gen. Patton's lightning-quick strike force of central France in 1944. That Gen. Tommy Franks's plan is now called Pattonesque—and that our new generals are compared to America's most audacious warrior—is ironic, but understandable, and thanks are due in large part to Rumsfeld.

DEFENSE SECRETARY AS STATESMAN

So he's been a military innovator. But hasn't Rumsfeld played an intrusive and disruptive role in foreign affairs? Wrong again. Here, too, his policy is one of shrewdness, prudence, and realism. The net result of Rumsfeld's military strategies will be greater

In a few months, analysts will begin to appreciate the true audacity of Operation Iraqi Freedom.

Furthermore, the operation took a number of—successful—tactical risks to satisfy myriad political objectives. For example, long, vulnerable supply lines made it possible for U.S. forces to advance rapidly to Baghdad, and thus take momentum away from a growing global antiwar movement; and the dearth of pre-battle bombing ensured a relatively sound infrastructure for rebuilding.

Rumsfeld has discovered how to use the Army in a better way than had been possible before; his analysis of the relative merits of draftees and professional soldiers shows an equally clear apprehension of military reality. His comparisons may have been inelegant, but his larger thesis—that the effectiveness of highly trained, highly motivated soldiers cannot be measured in mere numbers—is surely correct. The stories and pictures of soldiers running into burning trucks to save valuable equipment, wounded shooting from stretchers, and women of supply units emptying their magazines before capture suggest that the present generation of professional troops is lethal in ways we can only begin to appreciate.

Indeed, something strange is happening to the American soldier, almost as if current popular culture were being married to 19th-century notions of heroism and sacrifice. Europe, where military service is looked upon with distrust and rarely seen as either consistent with national values or a means of personal advancement, is shocked to see young kids with Ray-Ban sunglasses driving multimillion-dollar tanks, and artillery emblazoned with slogans like "Bad Moon Rising" and "Anger Management."

political autonomy and flexibility for the U.S.—without the traditional dependency on host countries. And surely this idea—of a powerful America that can act without granting political concessions to a Germany, Turkey, or South Korea—is what really bothers our allies. In this regard, however, nothing could be more unfair than to typecast Rumsfeld as a willy-nilly interventionist, who in some romantic fashion wishes to put footprints down everywhere abroad to impose democracy. If Rumsfeld's new, more cost-efficient military comes of age, it will be both more muscular and more independent—and thus shift the onus of strictly *regional* defense to our allies.

In any case, what is the exact value of bases in such places as Saudi Arabia and Turkey, when they require political concessions and cannot be fully exploited? When a politically hostile Germany boasts that it allows us to use its airspace, and guards our bases that are purportedly guarding *it*, or spoiled South Korean youth perpetually damn us for fomenting trouble with an unaggressive North, we clearly need to do some rethinking. In this context, it is perfectly logical for Rumsfeld to be the chief promoter of missile defense, which would liberate us from being held hostage politically by ostensible allies.

The State Department may have resented Rumsfeld's quip about an "Old Europe," and his association of Germany's antagonism with the anti-Americanism of our traditional foe Libya, but once again irony abounds: No secretary of defense in modern his-

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tory has done more than Rumsfeld to strengthen the hand of our diplomats. Because he has essentially ended the Powell Doctrine of cautious intervention—using overwhelming force for limited objectives, and with a quick exit strategy—Rumsfeld has brought a certain unpredictability to American foreign policy. And it is precisely this willingness to act alone that will in turn encourage a new maturity abroad, and expedite the war against the sponsors of terror.

"You can't defend," he remarked in an interview about terrorism, "except by offense." It is not so much that he wishes to invade Iran, Syria, or North Korea as that he wants to make it clear that the U.S. can in theory now act precipitously, yet on principle, to thwart totalitarians and terror states—without a great deal of dependence on traditional bases, allied contingents, or the consent of the United Nations. The days of a static big target of American troops being blown up in Lebanon or Saudi Arabia without reprisals are over. Our enemies' fear may prompt political reform, or at least second thoughts on sponsoring terrorism—which, in yet another Rumsfeld irony, will eventually make the use of military force less likely.

It may well be that Colin Powell has more diplomatic leverage than any secretary of state in recent memory precisely because the new military can move so rapidly and unexpectedly with lethal power—a fact that will bring him a host of obsequious foreign visitors. And of course Rumsfeld's blunt language about controversial nomenclature like the Axis of Evil—"I think putting the microscope, the floodlight, on what is going on in those three countries is just enormously valuable for the world"—allows Powell to triangulate: He can press straddling states to deal with him now—or Rumsfeld later.

CHARACTER AND AGE

What is the source of Rumsfeld's independence and steeliness in face of all the criticism? Plutarch, of course, would respond: "character" and "age." And there is much to be said for both. Rumsfeld's dossier—Princeton, naval aviation, congressional service, an array of presidential appointments, and personal wealth derived from successful corporate leadership—suggests that he doesn't much need or want anything from anybody. He has known disappointment—an aborted presidential bid and participation in Bob Dole's inept 1996 campaign—and realizes that Washington fame is fickle, often undeserved, and deeply resented.

That at a robust 70 Rumsfeld doesn't care to flatter or network gives him enormous credibility—and an affinity for bringing in bright, independent people like Paul Wolfowitz and Gen. Myers without fear or jealousy. He is neither a young, ambitious McNamara, swept up in the culture of the best and brightest, nor a worn-out Stanton. Add that his wealth of experience—including being under attack in Beirut (in 1983, when he was President Reagan's Mideast envoy) and at the Pentagon (on 9/11)—in part explains why he has been so often right: about the need for an ABM program, about intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, and about deployments abroad to battle al-Qaeda operatives from the Philippines to Yemen. As a Thucydidean, he accepts the role of power; he knows that until the nature of man changes, regimes in the Middle East will respect our force as much as our values.

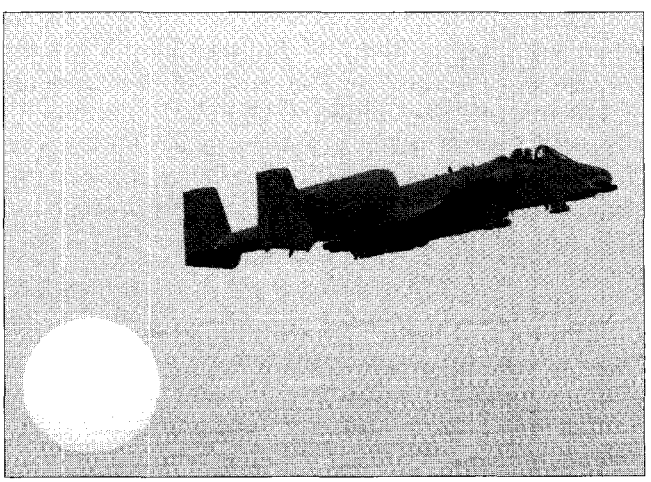
But there is a final wild card at play, not just where Rumsfeld is concerned but in the administration as a whole. Rumsfeld, as both a Princeton graduate and a naval pilot, is familiar with—but neither envious nor in awe of—the Eastern elite that so dominates our universities, government, and media. Like Bush, Cheney, and Rice, who have all either attended or taught at top schools, the former Illinois congressman acknowledges the intellectual richness of our great universities, but nevertheless seems more at ease with the sounder practical judgment of Middle America—and more than willing to bristle and snap at what he perceives as an overly cynical and skeptical cadre of brainy but foolish people. His résumé reads like a counter-dossier to the 1960s and 1970s. Even his speech—with its "by golly"'s and "my goodness"'s—proclaims that the 1950s can endure, oblivious to the chaos: "I've always enjoyed life, no matter what I'm doing. I like people and I like ideas, and I've got a lot of energy, fortunately."

What does the future hold for Rumsfeld himself, and for our new high-tech military? I imagine he will probably retire at the conclusion of President Bush's first administration, once the war on terror that he has fought so successfully has wound down. His legacy will be a far more sophisticated, more motivated armed force, staffed by confident, well-spoken officers who lead a spirited cross section of American youth. The very idea of entirely separate and feuding branches of the military is coming to a close, as the Navy, Army, Air Force, and Marines all—at times—both fly and fight on the ground, under synchronized command. War itself is undergoing a moral reappraisal, as military conflict is shown to save more lives than allowing mass murderers—Milosevic, the Taliban, or Saddam Hussein—to ply their trade of death without consequences.

Rumsfeld didn't create this renaissance in a mere two years. But at a time of war and uncertainty, he did give those with such missionary zeal and vision the confidence and support they needed to come forward out of the halls of the Pentagon to pursue their reforms. And he did bring back a confidence that militaries ultimately exist not just to launch cruise missiles, but to fight—and to win. And for that alone we are in debt to this controversial, opinionated man, in ways that will not be fully understood for years to come. **NR**

at war scenes

An A-10 fighter begins a mission into Iraq. March 29, 2003.



SENIOR AIRMAN JOANN S. MAKINANO/AP

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■ AT WAR

Analyze This

Civilian officials reached a point of sufficiency only because they were pushed to it

MARK HELPRIN

In a recent film version of, believe it or not, the Battle of Trenton, Washington at the head of half his army approaches a Hessian guard post that must be silenced, and dispatches two men to overcome an enemy of indeterminate strength. Clattering up to the farmhouse, they nonetheless manage to surprise three times their number inside, and kill them after a desperate fight, though without suppressing the warning shot they were sent to prevent. Given that the Battle of Trenton was brilliant in all respects, with not one American casualty, why in this version did Washington send only two men to do a ragged job while more than a thousand stood by? The answer is that the director and the screenwriters who commanded Washington and his troops didn't really know what they were doing.

In this war, the White House and the civilian Pentagon often didn't really know what they were doing either, and still don't. The war went as well as it did despite them, and much of what they themselves did or would have done was like passing on a blind curve: Though it can work, it offers little guidance for the future. Nor do they react well to criticism, as is a human right, although their charge that criticism endangered the troops may seem a bit rich when one recalls that never have war plans been discussed so openly by so many than in the glacial prologue that preceded the invasion of Iraq.

And, further, they attack not merely those who—in the mistaken belief that action was unjustified, success impossible, or both—would have stayed the hand of the United States, but those who for the sake of the infantryman and the infantryman not yet born would draw attention to imperfections in the prosecution of the war. In defense of a fantasy of infallibility, much obfuscation has been pouring forth from officials and apologists unfamiliar with operational art, but within these thickets of bureaucratic self-protection and contrary to unreflective judgment, the facts and truth remain.

Mr. Helprin, author of *Winter's Tale* and *A Soldier of the Great War*, served in the Israeli infantry and Air Force. He is a contributing editor of the *Wall Street Journal* and a senior fellow of the Claremont Institute for the Study of Statesmanship and Political Philosophy. His piece "Phony War" appeared in these pages a year ago.

TOO CLEVER

Clearly, the 18-month delay from September 11th to American columns moving across Iraq was disastrous. Reversing the sensible order of policymaking, the Bush administration suppressed debate and emerged with a persistently divided position. Too clever by an order of magnitude, the president's inner circle attempted to float above the Powell-Rumsfeld dialectic, hoping perhaps to preserve its freedom of action. But, slow to choose and promiscuous in compromise, it produced an unconscionable delay of a year and a half, in which the connections between cause and response appeared broken; the diplomatic balance of power was rearranged; France, Germany, Russia, and China were given the opportunity to forge an anti-American coalition of opportunity; the international Left was allowed the time needed to mobilize and coordinate with political Islamism; the Arab world was, to the detriment of our flexibility, grievously alienated; Saddam Hussein was fully apprised of our war plans and granted a holiday to lay in a defense, which he did not, and to distribute to people of dubious motivation his weapons of mass destruction, which perhaps he did; the United Nations was needlessly courted only to be scorned; the United States was seen fruitlessly polishing its own apple by claiming the endorsement of Bulgaria; and Kim Jong Il was awarded a kind of Guggenheim Fellowship, paid in the currency of American paralysis, for the accelerated development of nuclear weapons.

Part of the delay was attributable to the president's failure to keep his promise to restore the military after the Clinton-era depradations of readiness and procurement, so that after Afghanistan we simply did not have the materiel to turn immediately to Iraq. Part may have been attributable to the bizarre effort to enfold in a grand coalition against terrorism the very countries that support terrorism (the ridiculous expression "coalition of the willing" probably seems perfectly reasonable to those who labored prodigiously to produce a coalition of the unwilling). Part may have been due to indecision and intellectual confusion. Part may have been due to a failed attempt to bluff: As the president was publicizing his determination in the last three months of 2002, eight ships were activated for the purpose of military transport to the Gulf; in January of 2003, when things apparently got real, 42.

Whatever its origins, the 18-month phony war produced the kind of damage and dislocation that in parliamentary democracies would mean certain dismissal of the ministers responsible. Because our system is not as quickly self-correcting, we must be more attentive to criticism rather than less so.

The politico-diplomatic debacle distorted the war plan, depriving the Anglo-American forces of unconstricted, advantageously located basing in Saudi Arabia and Turkey, and thus northern and western fronts, easily accessible large reserves, and, in the event, the 4th Armored Division, which in less propitious circumstances might have been missed more sorely even than it was. In ascending levels of incompetence—even after the long delay, after the Turkish refusal, and after efforts to reverse the Turkish refusal—we kept the 4th Armored's equipment spinning around the Eastern Mediterranean like foam circling above a drain.

Yet another flirtation with recklessness was the potential vulnerability of our lines of communication: to European obstruction (the Austrians actually turned back our troops in transit); to the closure of the Suez Canal (which cannot be quickly reversed no

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matter what resources are set to the task); to naval harassment in the Persian Gulf; to the interdiction of supply in Iraq itself, as occurred, and which might easily have been far worse. How possibly could all this have been avoided? Simply by moving as soon as practicable after September 11th, when the world would have been with us or too embarrassed to protest, and not a single one of these obstructions and vulnerabilities would have been a factor.

But the chief threat to the flanks could not have been obviated solely by timing. In the Gulf, en route, or ordered to deploy, we had roughly one half the Army, a third of the Marine Corps, and more than half of our serviceable carriers—this for a weak opponent. We had neither the force, transport, nor material reserve to fight a large-scale battle elsewhere, but the stars shone on the United States, and Kim Jong Il did not choose to move against the South. Had he, Secretary Rumsfeld's assurances that "we're capable of wining decisively in one and swiftly defeating in the case of the other. Let there be no doubt about it" (and let there be no doubt that pigs can fly) would have been trumped decisively by the Bush administration's failure to rebuild the armed forces, and the secretary's own "move away from the two Major Theater War (MTW) construct," as he himself put it after he himself did it. Who is to say that, if the invasion of Iraq had been more difficult, North Korea would not have seized its opportunity, and who is to say what might have happened? Which is not to suggest that we should not have moved against Iraq, but that the president should have kept his promises in regard to the military.

A QUESTION OF TIMING

The record is clear that we underestimated the levels of resistance we would encounter and miscalculated the timing of the operation. The obviousness of this has elicited telltale agitation, including even a presidential thumping of the lectern as the president said, "It isn't a matter of timetable, it's a matter of victory. And the Iraqi people have got to know that, see."

Of course it was damaging for both friend and enemy in Iraq to know that we were not doing as well as expected, but with journalists as ubiquitous as the little bottles of Tabasco sauce in MREs, initial expectations were simply not deniable. Evidence of them was reported everywhere, from a general of the Third Infantry telling his troops that all he required of them was "five good days," to the gunnery sergeant in combat who said, "Nasiriyah was supposed to be a six-hour fight. It's already been five days. Five days of nonstop, 24-hour fighting," to the Pentagon's reconstruction official who relayed that it was generally expected that he would be in Baghdad "in a week."

The timing was off because the resistance was underestimated. The stall at Karbala, due to beleaguered lines of communication, was directly attributable to the absence of a force to guard them, the deployment of the Third Cavalry for this purpose having been vetoed by the secretary of defense. The White House may have been "infuriated" that the Army's senior ground commander in Iraq said, "The enemy we're fighting is different from the one we'd wargamed against," but it was true. Another senior officer (presumably of the same name) elaborated: "The theory was that they might not welcome us but that they wouldn't resist us," and half a world away this was confirmed almost simultaneously in the *Wall Street Journal* interview of a war gamer who maintained that the assumption that the Iraqis would welcome invasion "was a central idea of the war plan."

In Washington last year one could hear a lot of loose talk from high-level defense officials about invading Iraq with 500 men. It seemed like a strange joke, or maybe a dream, until corroborating reports began to surface in the press, such as the *Journal*'s "Some civilians in the Pentagon and the White House have argued that the job in Iraq could be accomplished with air strikes backed by several hundred special operations soldiers, working in conjunction with Iraqi opposition forces and defectors."

This absurdity was reflective of the thought of the civilian officials who are now crowing victory. At least twice, General Franks, representing the uniformed services and what is derisively known as "the heavy Army," briefed the president and recommended a quarter of a million troops, and at least twice he was rebuffed. In August he was instructed to plan for between 50,000 and 80,000.

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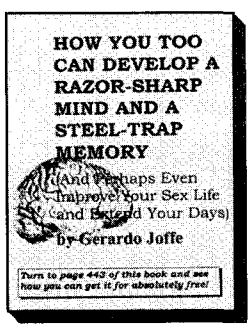
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In the months that followed, the numbers continued to rise, as was inevitable, until finally the "heavy Army" got its way, and even with the unsound "rolling start" there were many times the force levels in theater than had been specified in even the more robust earlier plans. In other words, the civilian officials reached a point of (problematic) sufficiency only because they were pushed to it.

Although we did not approach a "tipping point" of our own in Iraq, given the frictions, surprises, and delays it is hard to imagine that with a much smaller force we would not have. Arguing along the same continuum, it is just as likely that a massive force as in the Gulf War, preceded by a thorough air campaign and rolling toward Baghdad not from one direction but from four (airborne coming in from the east), would actually have produced the shock, awe, and rapid collapse that this time were predicted, desired, and absent, saving the lives of many of our soldiers and thousands of innocent civilians.

LEARNING, ALWAYS LEARNING

But what of it? one might ask. Is this not caviling? The victory was quick and came with very few casualties. The pain it inflicted upon the Iraqis was possibly less than that inflicted in any given year by Saddam's secret police. Predictions were generally borne out. Things went wrong, but in war they always do.

If the opponent had been more powerful, victory might indeed be the appropriate test and therefore the appropriate instrument with which to forward the predilections of the officials who now will implement them virtually unchecked. But if this is what happens with unharried sea lines of communication, absolute control of the air, on a single front, against an enemy exhausted by war, sanctions, and corruption, in generally favorable weather and in relatively open country, pray what would be the result against a carefully prepared and disciplined military power on several fronts and in winter, with submarines that threaten our lines of supply, and control of the air unsecured?

Though the uniformed military's 'retrograde' insistence on a massive force saved the country from a disaster of overconfidence, the administration will now use the victory to argue the false and destructive choice of quality versus mass, which flows from a patronizing and inaccurate political judgment that Americans will not sacrifice to ensure their own defense. How would anyone know, if even a Republican administration does not have the political courage to ask? And why would it, given a commander-in-chief who without a jot or a tittle of public hesitation or protest sends girls the age of his daughters, and the mothers of small children, into combat in a war that though justifiable is nonetheless elective? That he would acquiesce in this is hardly a profile in courage, unless of course it is a matter of belief, which would be worse.

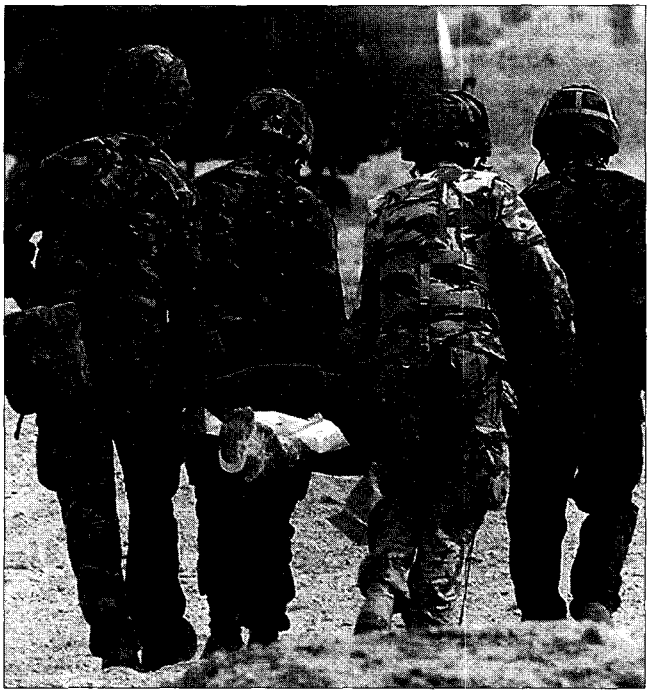
We suffer from a lack of historical perspective. The chairman of the House Intelligence Committee says of the capture of Khalid Sheik Muhammed, "This is the equivalent of the liberation of Paris during the Second World War." The poorly protected dash to Karbala is hailed as "historic," though its rate of advance was no greater than that of Patton's drive on Troyes, less than Truscott's on Grenoble, half that of the British Eighth Army's march to Derna, and a third that of the Israeli army's fight through Gaza and the Sinai in the Six Day War.

And we suffer from arrogance. To win a war you must have the disinterested perspective of high authority, but to win it decently you must see it through the eyes of the blooded common soldier. Although compared to casualties in wars of the past, the 150 or so dead (the occupation may bring many more) may seem to some to be miraculously few, for the families they left behind this cannot be so. Therefore, those who in approving the war are partly responsible for this must understand that—given the feasibility of a campaign of greater force, preparation, and critical mass—these deaths were too many.

If mainly out of the needs of partisanship and the retention of office this narrow victory escapes critical analysis, its prestige will go toward the supposedly enlightened step of further stripping from the military its (now mainly theoretical) ability to fight two hard wars at once. If this narrow victory escapes critical analysis, the ships will not be built that are the only way to defend our island allies in the Pacific from China as it rises, as it shall. If this narrow victory escapes critical analysis, we will have wasted the unusual combination of prudence and daring in this nation, which thinks best when it thinks as it was born, a David to Goliaths. Every war that we cannot avoid we should fight as if our survival depends upon it, for eventually it will, and never should we be confident that we will prevail, or someday we will not. Nor should we ever let down our guard, or fail in our exertions to provide whatever is required even if it is to spare the life of a single American soldier. Never should we be satisfied, and never should those entrusted with the defense of the United States allow themselves to be seduced by the passing flash of victory. For every victory, no matter how poorly won, has within it a light so bright that it can blind, and that, thus blinding, will lead to defeat. **NR**

at war scenes

British forces evacuate one of their wounded near Basra. March 25, 2003.



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■ AT WAR

The Teflon Secretary

Nothing sticks to Colin Powell—except a bewildering adulation

RAMESH PONNURU

AMONG critics of the Bush administration's foreign policy, the most common response to the military success in Iraq has been to applaud it, tepidly, while more loudly lamenting the diplomatic wreckage it has left in its wake. Our failure to win more allies among governments and more support among peoples has been blamed on President George W. Bush, on Vice President Dick Cheney, on defense secretary Don Rumsfeld, on second-tier officials such as Rumsfeld deputy Paul Wolfowitz, even on people entirely outside the government. But one person is escaping all blame for the administration's diplomatic failures: its top diplomat.

Somehow, secretary of state Colin Powell always manages to come out smelling like a rose. He emerged as a national hero from the first Gulf War, even though, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he had opposed showing force to deter Saddam Hussein from invading Kuwait—and then resisted the use of force to undo the dictator's conquest. He is likely to rise in public esteem again now, in the aftermath of another popular war he tried hard to prevent. But while Powell is getting the applause, it's the administration's hawks who are getting the policies they want. He may project an image of strength, but his influence is weak.

Powell's reputation reflects both a strength and a weakness. He is where he is today because of his charisma, his sterling personal qualities, and his genius at playing the Washington game. But he has never been associated with any brilliant military move or diplomatic breakthrough. His record as secretary of state continues the pattern of his career: He has been more successful in bolstering his position in Washington than in bolstering America's in the world.

That's a harsh verdict, and it should be qualified. Powell has made several contributions to the administration. When an American surveillance plane was brought down by the Chinese in April 2001, Powell managed to defuse the situation without strategic concessions or much loss of face. Most of his detractors are willing to concede that his relationship with Pakistan's ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, proved extremely valuable both in our efforts to avert war between that country and India and in our Afghan campaign.

When Powell has taken it upon himself to advocate the administration's position, he has been quite forceful and effective. In the two months prior to the current war, Powell often had occasion to respond to the charge that America was acting out of militarism and selfishness. American soldiers had freed Europe, he noted, and we had asked for nothing in return "except enough ground to bury them in." It's not just stirring rhetoric that makes Powell a powerful spokesman; it's also his appeal to people whom other members of the administration cannot reach. On February 5, Powell presented evidence of Iraq's weapons programs and its concealment of them to the United Nations. The fact that the presentation was made by Powell, and not Cheney or Rumsfeld, helped to build domestic support for the war.

But Powell has been out of step with Bush at least as often as he has agreed with him. He insisted that America had no intention of toppling the Taliban even after the administration had plainly adopted that goal. He's been a missile-defense skeptic. His deputy, Richard Armitage, has been more indiscreet. Last year, Armitage slammed supporters of war in Iraq, presumably including the president, as chicken hawks. In February of this year, he told the Senate that bilateral talks with North Korea were a good idea. (President Bush was "off-the-wall angry" about Armitage's testimony, according to the *New York Times*.) Armitage has also described Iran as a democracy—this, more than a year after Bush called it part of an "axis of evil."

Powell's two great moments of triumph during the Iraq controversy came last fall. He was instrumental in getting Bush to ask the United Nations for support in September. And in November, the U.N. Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, which demanded an immediate, fully verified end to Iraq's weapons-of-mass-destruction programs. Even the Syrians endorsed the resolution. Its passage made some foreign governments more comfortable in working on war plans with us. Tony Blair, our most important ally, also thought that the effort to work through the U.N. would help him domestically.

The resolution was a real diplomatic accomplishment. Its downside was that it created an opportunity for the French to tie down the Bush administration by dragging out the inspections process. But none of our diplomats—in Europe, the U.N., or Foggy Bottom—appreciated the trap. They were apparently incapable of seeing that Paris would never authorize force right up until the French themselves, in an excess of glee at our confusion, said so. Powell is said to feel personally betrayed by the French. A second blunder was to take the support of the Russians for granted. Its failure to materialize made it impossible even to isolate France on the Security Council.

It can be argued that this fiasco did no military harm and even that it had some benefits. It discredited the U.N. for part of the American public, and it made it clear to rogue regimes that our government is willing to destroy them even when they have high-class friends. But these were scarcely the outcomes that Powell intended.

A FAILURE TO COMMUNICATE

Some of Powell's critics inside the administration—he has many, although few are willing to talk on the record—also consider Turkey's refusal to grant us basing rights to be, in part, the State Department's fault. Joel Mowbray reported on National Review Online that the department had leaked information about

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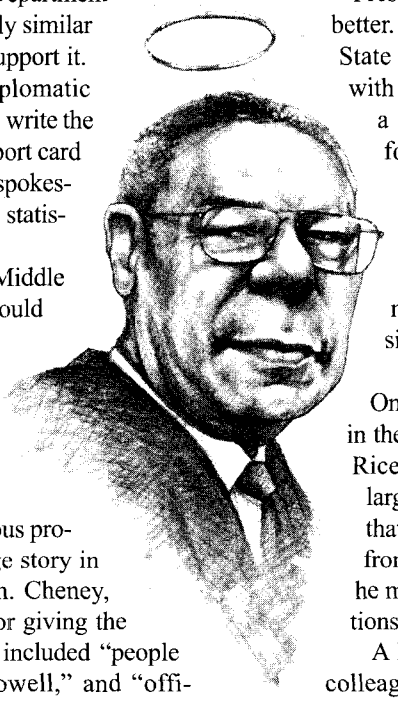
the negotiations in order to put pressure on the Turks; instead, the leaks angered them. In general, we didn't work on Turkey as hard as we had in 1991. Some of the hawks wonder why Powell didn't travel to Ankara until the situation had already started to unravel.

One of the few things that the mainstream press has zinged Powell about is his reluctance to travel. But that reluctance is only part of a larger problem: the State Department's failure to engage in public diplomacy. A lot of Americans probably assume that one of the department's core functions is to argue for the positions of the U.S. government overseas. That happens in some embassies. But it's not a priority for the department, and it especially wasn't the priority when it came to Iraq—which is one reason the White House had to create its own Office of Global Communications to make the case on Iraq.

A prominent hawk outside the administration explains: "The United States did not get its story across, and I believe that's not because it's a bad story. I think the State Department's heart wasn't in it. The percentage of people in the State Department who supported the president's policy is probably similar to the percentage of people in Pakistan who support it. And that's reflected in the failure of the diplomatic establishment to appear on the talk shows [and] write the op-eds. . . . There's no gold star on Powell's report card for the diplomacy surrounding this war." (A spokeswoman for the department declined to provide statistics on its public diplomacy concerning Iraq.)



State hasn't won hearts and minds in the Middle East; it hasn't even done it in Europe. Powell could have made a difference there. No other member of the administration has the credibility and trust in Europe that Powell does. A senior diplomat for one of our European allies says that he wishes the administration would send Powell to European capitals more.

Once the war started, State's most conspicuous propaganda activity took the form of a front-page story in the *Washington Post* trashing the battle plan. Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Wolfowitz were all fingered for giving the president "bum advice." The story's sources included "people sympathetic to Powell," "some close to Powell," and "officials . . . in the State Department." (A Pentagon official remarks, "These are the people who brought us the six-month debacle at the United Nations criticizing the war plan a week and a half in.")

FIGHTING DEMOCRACY

The department's Near East bureau will do what it can in the aftermath of the war to keep Ahmad Chalabi and his Iraqi National Congress out of power. Chalabi is a longtime opponent of Saddam Hussein's regime, but State and the CIA are longtime opponents of him. Congressional supporters of the INC charge that State has bent the law to deny funds to the group. State's hostility to the INC may ultimately have undermined our public diplomacy, by making it harder for the administration to put an Iraqi face on the concept of liberation.

State isn't keen on democratizing the Middle East, period. The same day President Bush announced his support for a democratic Iraq, at the American Enterprise Institute, the department issued a classified report throwing cold water on the idea that Iraq could lead a democratic wave in the region. The old saw about the State Department—that its employees tend to regard themselves as the world's ambassadors to the United States, rather than vice-versa—is true in spades of its Middle East hands. If you see your job as ensuring good relations with, say, Bashar Assad, it will always be easier to reach that goal by changing our behavior than by changing his.

Unless the department is given strong political direction from the top, it will follow its own instincts rather than the policies of whoever happens to be president. There are isolated voices for administration policy at State—notably John Bolton, Elizabeth Cheney, Paula Dobriansky, Mark Lagon, and David Wurmser. But Powell mostly chose State careerists to fill the key jobs. To the extent Powell, Armitage, and their circle have a philosophy of their own, it's the kind of "pragmatic" acceptance of the world just as it is that gives realism a bad name. That philosophy reinforces State's weaknesses.

President Bush's instincts on foreign policy are a lot better. But when he fails to reach a clear decision, the State Department tends to engage in trench warfare with other parts of the administration. Danielle Pletka, a former Jesse Helms aide who now runs the foreign-policy shop at the American Enterprise Institute, explains: "The State Department is the State Department, and it doesn't matter whether a Republican or a Democrat is in the White House, and it is still the job of the president to make sure that policy is implemented that is consistent with the leadership of the country."

The next test for Powell will come in postwar Iraq. On most of the disputed questions, the White House, in the person of national security adviser Condoleezza Rice, has been siding with State. If Powell invites large-scale French involvement in Iraq, he will show that he is reverting to form and has learned nothing from his betrayal. If he holds firm, on the other hand, he may have to find a way to get the U.N. to lift sanctions without using the occasion to butt in.

A Republican senator sums up the sentiment of his colleagues: "We all like Colin Powell. That said . . . [some of us] are very skeptical of the support he's given the president. You'd like to have people a little more committed to the president's program than the State Department sometimes seems to be." But Powell, who polls better than the president, will have his job as long as he wants it. The press continues to laud him as the adult restraining the hotheads around Bush.

His impact on the administration, however, is as negligible as that of his predecessor William Rogers in the Nixon years. This is an unusually plastic moment in American foreign policy. The shape of world politics is being set. So far, the concepts that guide Bush—the doctrine of pre-emption, its application to Iraq, the new national-security strategy—have been coming from the Department of Defense and the vice president's office. State has offered resistance and foot-dragging, but no alternative concepts. The intellectual agenda is being set by the hated Wolfowitz. Colin Powell, meanwhile, seems content to serve as the State Department's ambassador to the Bush administration. **NR**

ZACHARY PULLEN

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the long view

ROB LONG

Transcript from CNN's *NewsNight with Aaron Brown*, April 29, 2004:

AARON BROWN: "And now with some analysis of the current American policy towards North Korea, we go to CNN adviser and retired totalitarian dictator Saddam Hussein. Sir, from your perspective, as someone who has been there, what's Kim Jong Il doing wrong?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Well, Aaron, it would be easier, I think, to tell you what he's doing right!"

AARON BROWN: "Ha ha ha . . ."

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "No, but seriously, Aaron, the key here is something called the 'Fear Factor,' which is so important when it comes to protracted diplomatic struggles like this one. As the conflict develops—something we call 'ripening the theater'—I think Kim is eventually going to regret not having deployed his assets properly in places like the U.N. I mean, that's what my gut is telling me."

AARON BROWN: "And what about his use of France. Any thoughts?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "Ultimately, Aaron, I don't think France is going to be of much consequence in this phase of the operation. In my experience, as a professional—well, former, retired—brutal dictator and mass murderer, one of the things that become important as the conflict moves from the diplomatic salons to the battlefield is to make sure enough people are dead already. That's the ever-important shaping of the conflict that we've been talking about for months now. Frankly, I'm surprised at Kim—whom I know well and respect immensely—but I'm surprised that he's forgotten that lesson."

AARON BROWN: "Were you part of his planning process? I mean, did he call you for advice?"

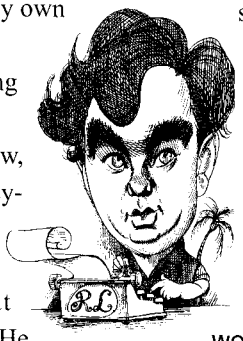
SADDAM HUSSEIN: "No, he did not. But if he had, I think I would have said what I'm saying now: Kill as many of your own people as you can, maintain a climate of fear, imprison as many children as the bureaucrats will let you—you know, just basic Clinging to Power 101."

AARON BROWN: "And in your opinion, he's not doing that?"

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "I see no evidence of it from the intel I'm getting from your guys in the field, or from my own sources."

AARON BROWN: "Interesting perspective, sir."

SADDAM HUSSEIN: "You know, they say that all great old psychopaths are closet historians, and it reminds me of something that great old man, Hitler, once said. He said, 'In the end, you regret that you were so kind.' I think that sort of says it all."



AARON BROWN: "Thank you very much, sir. I know you'll be with us throughout the conflict. And now for another perspective, we turn to our embedded correspondent in Pyongyang, Wolf Blitzer. Wolf, what's the story there?"

WOLF BLITZER: "Well, Aaron, the mood here in North Korea is upbeat. This is a proud country with a long tradition of fighting off invasions."

AARON BROWN: "Did you hear the comments from CNN's Saddam Hussein?"

WOLF BLITZER: "Yes, I did, Aaron, and I must tell you that I watched them with a very senior member of the government here, and I'll tell you that over here, they do not find Saddam Hussein's comments helpful in the least. The response here was one of barely concealed anger. There's a sense from some members of Kim Jong Il's senior leadership that Saddam Hussein has really, in a sense, betrayed the brotherhood and crossed the line. He's emboldened the coalition and I must tell you that the Dear Leader is not a Happy Leader tonight."

AARON BROWN: "Is there a feeling over there that Kim Jong Il is actually questioning Saddam Hussein's loyalty to the cause of international terrorism?"

WOLF BLITZER: "I wouldn't go that far, Aaron, no. But there is a strong sense that comments and criticism from armchair totalitarians are simply not helpful at this point, and may, in fact, be the result of a certain amount of professional jealousy. I was reminded tonight by a highly-placed member of the Dear Leader's elite Pornographic Film Production Corps that Kim is still here, in power, while Saddam isn't."

AARON BROWN: "But overall, the mood is . . . ?"

WOLF BLITZER: "Upbeat, Aaron. People here love their Dear Leader. Just today I saw a spontaneous demonstration at the Kim Il Sung Outdoor Amphitheater that really impressed the heck out of me. I mean, for 50,000 people to march in unison and perform a three-hour Korean opera depicting the heavenly origins of the Dear Leader just totally spontaneously, well, that is impressive. Contrast it, as some have, with the choreographed set-pieces of the upcoming Republican party convention, and I think you'll get some idea of the differences and strengths of this proud little country. Aaron?"

AARON BROWN: "Thanks so much, Wolf. We'll be returning to you later in the broadcast. And now, let's go to the map with retired dictators and CNN analysts 'Baby Doc' Duvalier and Idi Amin. Guys, what's your take here?"

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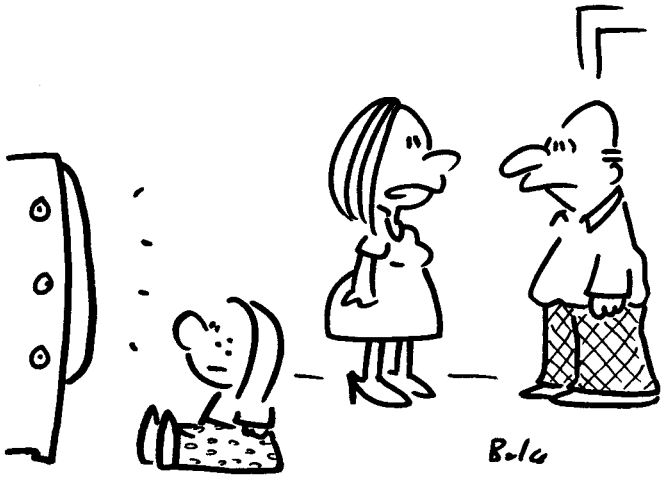

"Make of it what you will, but your daughter doesn't realize that Homer Simpson is supposed to be funny."

THE UNREPENTANT

Nancy Pelosi sits, sullen;
Senator Harkin's in shock;
Both had been counting on Baghdad
Lasting at least till the clock,
Following diurnal rhythms,
Shed daylight-saving time for
Fall's more congenial solstice—
Not this slam-dunk kind of war.

—W. H. VON DREELE

"Iraq will not be defeated," said Ambassador Mohsen Khalil—Saddam's rep at the Arab League—on April 7. "Iraq has now already achieved victory—apart from some technicalities."

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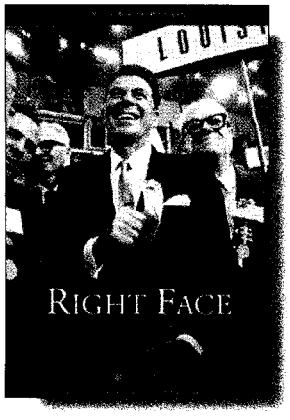
Creation Story



Right Face: Organizing the American Conservative Movement 1945–65, by Niels Bjerre-Poulsen (Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 333 pp., $29.95)

GEORGE H. NASH

In the ever-quickening tumult of current political debate, it is easy to forget that American conservatism has become middle-aged. Fifty years ago this spring Russell Kirk published *The Conservative Mind*. Forty-three years ago next September, Young Americans for Freedom was born. Later this year the Intercollegiate Studies Institute will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. In two years NATIONAL REVIEW will do the same.

What happens when a political movement reaches maturity? For those within its ranks, the impulse grows to proclaim success and salute its intrepid founders. For those outside its ranks, passion yields to curiosity: How, they wonder, did such a phenomenon come into prominence and power? In short, present-mindedness gives way slowly to self-consciousness and to the historian's quest for deeper understanding.

So it is with contemporary American conservatism. Long neglected by most serious scholars, conservatism in the last half-decade has suddenly become a historiographical frontier.

Among the new generation of historians who have discovered conservatism from the outside is Niels Bjerre-Poulsen, an associate professor of American studies at Copenhagen Business School. Like most of his confreres, Bjerre-Poulsen is less interested in conservatism's intellectual history than in its "political mobilization." Conservative ideology, that is, is less fascinating to him than the vehicles by which this ideology was carried into the political arena. In *Right Face*, he tells the story of how, in the first two decades after World War II, a "would-be political elite" of conservatives set out to "institutionalize their political ideas" and create a powerful "network" of influence and advocacy.

And what a story it is. In the late 1940s and 1950s the American Right was a hodgepodge of uncoordinated intellectual and political figures—religious traditionalists and doctrinaire classical liberals, business tycoons and zealous ex-Communists, leftover isolationists and crusading Cold Warriors, near-anarchists and converts to Catholicism, learned college professors and rambunctious McCarthyites—united principally in their opposition to Communism and to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. How to forge out of such discordant elements an effective resistance to their "collectivist" enemies?

As Bjerre-Poulsen explains, the process unfolded on essentially two fronts. In the 1950s conservative leaders concentrated on developing an infrastructure of journals and related transmission belts for conservative discourse. Here NATIONAL REVIEW, founded in 1955, was preeminent. In its first decade or so of existence, NR—under William F. Buckley Jr., James Burnham, Frank Meyer, and William Rusher—functioned as the general staff of the conservative movement, as its clearinghouse of news and ideas, and increasingly as its gatekeeper and arbiter of respectability. Without the intellectual coherence and camaraderie supplied by its leading journal, the conservative movement would not have become what it aspired to be: a political force determined to put its ideas into action.

Intellectual consolidation was Phase One. Phase Two commenced a few years later. In 1960 Buckley and his allies founded Young Americans for Freedom, an invaluable source of talent for future battles and future conservative leadership. In 1962 came the creation of the New York Conservative party in the very belly of the liberal beast. Above all (and this forms the bulk of Bjerre-Poulsen's story), between 1960 and 1964 enthusiastic and disciplined conservative activists successfully captured the biggest political vehicle of all—the Republican party—in their drive to nominate Barry Goldwater for the presidency.

Bjerre-Poulsen clearly has a multifaceted tale to tell. One theme that vividly emerges from it is the many pitfalls that conservatives had to overcome in their struggle to build a viable counter-establishment. Some conflicts were philosophical: the enduring tension between libertarians and traditionalists. Some were geopolitical and strategic: the residual isolationism of the Old Right versus the Cold War interventionism of the New. Some were temperamental and tactical: between elitists who saw themselves as an anti-political Remnant and populists who wanted to rouse the "silent majority."

Time and again these differences of perspective clashed: in polemics at and around NATIONAL REVIEW; in power struggles at *Human Events* and *The Freeman*; in the pitched battle at the Republican national convention of 1952; and in the ambivalent response of conservative intellectuals to Senator Joseph McCarthy. The early attempts to create a conservative community were fraught with strife. Nevertheless, what Bjerre-Poulsen narrates is mainly a success story. As he

Mr. Nash is the author of *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945* (ISI) and a multivolume biography of Herbert Hoover.

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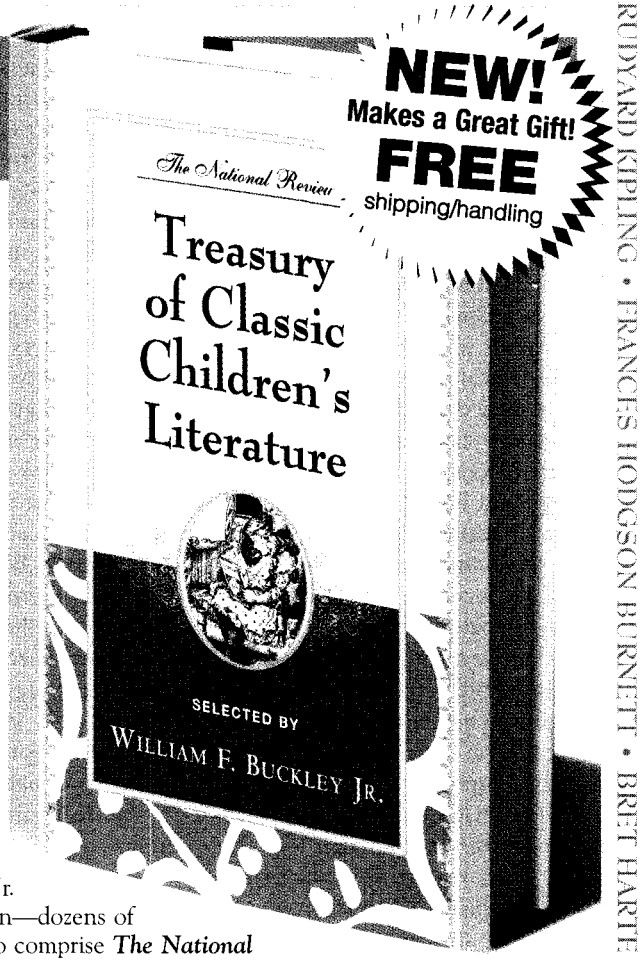

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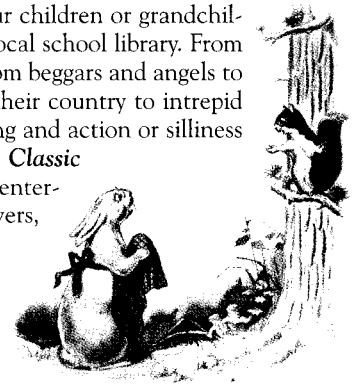

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makes clear in a brief epilogue on conservatism from 1965 to the present, the Goldwater campaign was not the beginning of the end; it was, for embattled conservatives, the end of the beginning.

All this and more Bjerre-Poulsen covers with clarity and insight. He is particularly effective in linking the internal history of *Human Events* and *The Freeman* to the larger ideological rifts within the Right in the first postwar decade. He notes astutely how McCarthyism ushered in a more majoritarian consciousness among conservatives and how McCarthyite anti-Communism served as a bridge between former isolationists and emerging Cold Warriors. He recounts how Buckley and NATIONAL REVIEW dealt with the dilemma posed by the rise of the John Birch Society. He discloses the catalytic, behind-the-scenes achievements of conservatism's PR guru, Marvin Liebman. He deftly illuminates the surprising friction that arose between Barry Goldwater and his conservative kingmakers in 1963–4.

Indeed, after reading this book some may wonder whether conservatives were prudent to put so many eggs in the reluctant Goldwater's basket in the years before his presidential run. Their campaign to secure Goldwater's nomination was brilliant, but (as Bjerre-Poulsen shows) the campaign's chosen vessel proved to be flawed. The conservatives constructed their "network," and it survived the debacle of Goldwater's defeat. Still, as conservatives ruefully learned, infrastructure alone is not enough unless it produces sound leaders.

But if Bjerre-Poulsen's book is by and large a story of success, its tone is by no means triumphant. In his epilogue he insists that in the years since 1980 (and 1994) no conservative "revolution" has "swept the country." Conservatism, he acknowledges, has become "institutionalized and professionalized." It has held onto its power base in the Republican party. Its organizational work has been "a major success." But it has not, he says, replaced "the New Deal order," nor has it yet devised a "coherent political program" capable of winning "sustained" victories at the polls.

Bjerre-Poulsen is also highly skeptical of the "fusionist" brand of conservatism (long associated with NATIONAL REVIEW) that endeavored to reconcile libertarian and traditionalist visions of the good society. A true fusion of these perspectives, he claims, never happened in the 1950s and 1960s: The conservative coalition "remained a shotgun marriage" held together "almost entirely" by antipathy to "New Deal liberalism."

Many conservatives will strongly contest this categorical dismissal—at the level of everyday experience if not of abstract theory. Talk to an average conservative today and you will likely find a harmonious mix of libertarian and traditionalist sentiments. Fusionism remains the de facto conservative consensus. But Bjerre-Poulsen is probably correct to note that since the 1970s organized libertarianism and organized traditionalism have increasingly gone their separate ways. What this portends for conservatism's future as a coalition is problematic.

Bjerre-Poulsen covers modern conservatism with clarity and insight.

Bjerre-Poulsen's judgment on these points raises the issue of his own angle of vision toward his subject. As with so many historians who are now writing about conservatism, this Danish scholar's political sympathies appear to lie on the left. Occasionally these biases surface. Thus he refers to the Communist-subversion controversy of the late 1940s and early 1950s as the "second Red Scare": a tendentious term employed by some historians to connect the episode with the discredited Red Scare of 1919–20. (The very word "scare," of course, carries the pejorative message that anti-Communist concerns at the time were groundless.) Similarly, he repeatedly labels McCarthyism a "witch-hunt," again suggesting by his terminology that the furor over Communism in America in the early Cold War lacked any valid foundation. Bjerre-Poulsen does not argue this point; he simply seems to assume that it is self-evident.

He is more overtly critical of conservatives when he analyzes their response to the civil rights movement in the late 1950s and 1960s. At one point he describes conservatives' constitutional objections as "in most instances . . . sheer hypocrisy."

Fortunately—whether one agrees with him or not—these lapses into judgmentalism are infrequent and generally unobtrusive. Nor does his opining emanate altogether from one direction. He is pointedly unimpressed by the efforts of certain left-of-center social scientists in the 1950s to depict the resurgent Right as a form of social pathology. While Bjerre-Poulsen is unafraid to evaluate his subject, he does not (for the most part) argue with it—a welcome sign of intellectual maturity. Like most of the younger historians (including liberal ones) who are now tilling the field of conservative history, Bjerre-Poulsen has sufficient detachment to treat his topic respectfully. This is a mighty step forward.

In essence, *Right Face* is a concise, analytic survey of a 20-year struggle by conservative activists to establish a sustainable beachhead in American public life. As a survey, the book cannot cover individual episodes in substantial detail. For a fuller rendering of the 1964 Goldwater campaign, readers will want to consult Rick Perlstein's *Before the Storm*; for the story of YAF, Gregory L. Schneider's *Cadres for Conservatism*; for the New York Conservative party, George J. Marlin's *Fighting the Good Fight*; for broader accounts of conservatism's political trajectory, Lee Edwards's *The Conservative Revolution* and Jonathan M. Schoenwald's *A Time for Choosing*.

But what *Right Face* necessarily lacks in narrative depth, it more than compensates for in breadth and incisiveness. Bjerre-Poulsen's compact but comprehensive volume is a worthwhile addition to the historiography of American conservatism. And he underscores a valuable point. Conservatives like to say that ideas have consequences, and it is true. Every institution chronicled in this book was the embodiment of ideas that eventually blossomed into organized political activity. Ideas are crucial in motivating people; "consequences," after all, do not just happen by chance. From 1945 to 1964 and beyond, the power of intellectual conviction propelled countless conservatives into self-sacrificing action, year in and year out, in fair weather and foul. As the conservative movement of 2003 enters a comfortable middle age, this is a history lesson worth remembering. **NR**

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The Old Order

Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power, by Niall Ferguson (Basic, 352 pp., $35)

DAVID HARSANYI

In 1897, the year of her Diamond Jubilee, England's Queen Victoria ruled over a quarter of the world, more than 400 million souls. Taking into account her impressive economic holdings and authority elsewhere, her country's influence could be felt in virtually every nation on earth. And though little now lingers of the Empire's political supremacy, its cultural and economic legacy remains ubiquitous. England laid the foundation for global capitalism, her language the standard for business and culture worldwide. Her progeny, the United States, has become the world's sole superpower, exporting its message of democracy and free-market capitalism to nations around the world.

That's the saccharine (or—some critics would charge—hopelessly revisionist) version of the Empire's legacy. Countless detractors of Rule Britannica will offer a far more pessimistic assessment, contending that England's hegemony was built on slavery, unjust imperial domination, and an unchecked, exploitative *laissez-faire* economic policy—all of which left the world cluttered with the ethnic hostilities and economic catastrophes still being sorted out in Africa, India, Ireland, and the Middle East.

Prolific Scottish historian Niall Ferguson is without question firmly entrenched in the feel-good camp. His new book *Empire* (with an accompanying documentary on British TV's Channel 4) is ambitious, provocative, and entertaining—a rare hat trick in the genre of historical writing—in its meticulous charting of the rise and fall of the world's largest empire. While acknowledging the sins of British colonialism, this illustrated volume gives an enthusiastic nod to the Empire's high moral character and its role in bringing a sometimes regressive and antagonistic world kicking and screaming into modernity's fold.

A professor at Oxford and New York University, Ferguson has become a pop idol of sorts. He has already released a torrent of ambitious histories fashioned for mass consumption, which flood has been attracting considerable attention in England for years now. A couple of his earlier books—*The House of Rothschild* (1998), about the mysterious banking dynasty, and *The Cash Nexus* (2001), in which he argued against the popular theory that there is a direct link between economic growth and democracy—sold well beyond what one would have expected from their rather unsexy subject matter.

This superstar professor, not yet 40, tends to specialize in contentious historical assertions. In *The Pity of War* (1998), Ferguson argued that British involvement in World War I was unnecessary, far too costly in lives and money for any advantage gained, and a Pyrrhic victory that in many ways contributed to the end of the Empire. His new book is likely to be equally controversial, in that it casts the British as the exporters of "the idea of liberty": a perspective that will surely place him in conflict with a multitude of contemporary historians, most of whom become visibly shaken at the mere mention of colonialism.

But how did a relatively inconsequential island nation in Western Europe become the largest and most influential empire in the world? The short answer,

Mr. Harsanyi is a writer in New York City.

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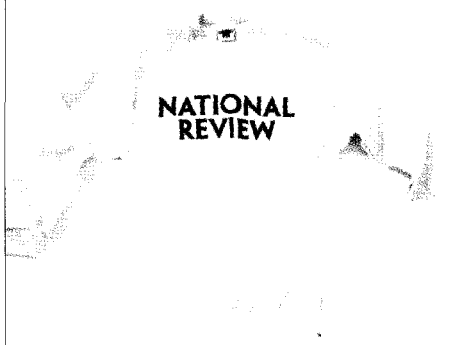

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Ferguson says, is mass migration. From 1600 to 1950, more than 20 million people left the British Isles, and only a small minority were ever to return. Ferguson has a great facility with statistics, but he does not condemn us to a merely algebraic understanding of this phenomenon; instead, he brings these millions of settlers, criminals, pirates, and Puritans to vivid life in a thoughtful dissection of the complexities and paradoxes of British history. Why, for instance, did American colonists, the richest of all Britain's subjects, possibly the wealthiest people in the world, revolt against the king, while in Australia, "a nation of pickpockets"—subjects whom Britain had brusquely thrown out on their rumps—proved to be the Empire's most dependable colony? And how did 70,000 British soldiers and policemen and a little over 60,000 civilians rule over an Indian population of some 300 million with relative ease?

These are issues of more than antiquarian interest, because they are connected to Ferguson's deeper question: "What lessons can the United States draw from the British experience of empire?" Ferguson unequivocally believes that the United States has "inherited the Empire," and that Americans are still in deep denial about this fact. Alexander Hamilton once told a British envoy to the burgeoning republic that Americans "think in English," and Ferguson takes this idea a step further: The American colonies, he suggests, were really never England's enemy to begin with—and the War of Independence was therefore not a rebellion but a civil war. The merciless redcoats we have come to know through movies and American folklore, and the general idea of an American struggle for freedom against an evil empire, are elements of a silly "creation myth." And so, when Samuel Adams proclaimed the principle of no taxation without representation, he was not rejecting his Britishness, but emphatically asserting it, demanding the same rights his brethren enjoyed on the other side of the Atlantic.

From this perspective, Pax Britannica can conveniently be perceived as having morphed into Pax Americana. "No one can deny the extent of the American informal Empire—the empire of multinational corporations, of Hollywood movies and even of TV evangelists. Is it so different from the early British Empire of monopoly trading companies and missionaries?" That may be a stretch; Ferguson himself suggests that America hasn't taken a serious crack at the task, undertaken earlier by Britain, of "impos[ing] its preferred values on less technologically advanced societies."

While Ferguson clearly endorses the preferred values of the British Empire, he does not exactly gloss over the horrors—slavery, indentured labor, and the extermination of indigenous peoples—that were part of the Empire. It's true that the British, for all their transgressions, acted a great deal better than, say, the Belgians in Africa or the Spanish in South America; but by 1750 some 800,000 Africans had been shipped to the Caribbean alone by British traders, their death rate so high and reproduction so low that more than half didn't survive the decade. Toward the end of the 18th century, however, there was a sudden shift, and the British started shipping slaves back to Africa and setting them free. "It was almost as if a switch was flicked," writes Ferguson, thanks to the birth of a new kind of politics: pressure groups. Through the work of "zealous activists, armed with pens, paper, and moral indignation," Britain turned against slavery.

This transformation toward liberalism, later coupled with Britain's leading technological role in the Industrial Revolution, transformed the world economy and the international balance of power, giving the British the ability to impose their moral authority on the world. And they did so, often and enthusiastically. By 1945, however, the Empire was no longer providing wealth to Britain, and had in fact become an unbearable burden; it soon unraveled. Traditionally, historians have given credit for this development to the various nationalist movements and freedom fighters who sought to shed their colonial masters; but Ferguson argues that this perception is misleading, and that the principal threats and the most plausible alternatives to British rule were not national independence movements, but other empires, some considerably more unpleasant than the British.

So was the British Empire, finally, a force for virtue? Did its colonialism provide English subjects with an economic and cultural advantage that would have taken them countless years to achieve otherwise? Ferguson makes a subtle, but impressive, argument that free trade, the English language, and superior education helped improve the lot of those under colonial rule. "The question is not whether British imperialism was without blemish," Ferguson writes. "It was not. The question is whether there could have been a less bloody path to modernity." Ferguson's persuasive answer is no. **NR**

HOTEL

after a poem by Donald Justice
with the same name, the same form,
and the same last line

One night, it seemed, this grand and secret place
was their whole world, in which they felt at home,
walking down long halls to find their room.

Later, waiting for sleep, waiting for dawn,
it seemed the sounds of the city had been turned on,
horns and sirens blaring far away,
and planes droning past in the night sky
that they had almost forgotten was still there.

And then, at dawn, how strange to wake up here.

And not so grand or secret after all,
they may have felt, walking through the lobby
and stopping in the little shop for coffee.

Beyond the plate-glass window was the world,
remembered now. Soon they would be hurled
into the daily storms and battles there.
And home seemed far away now, very far.
Perhaps she shed some tears, but silently.

And all was as it had been and would be.

—MICHAEL CREAGAN

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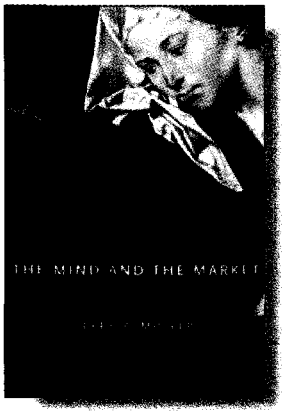

The Mind and the Market: Capitalism in Modern European Thought, by Jerry Z. Muller (Knopf, 448 pp., $30)

ARTHUR HERMAN

THE market starts as a physical place, a Middle Eastern *souk* or a midwestern mall or a square in Paris or Nairobi. Then economists turn it into an abstraction, "the market," in order to conceptualize exchanges between buyers and sellers. Now historian Jerry Z. Muller offers us the market as an emblem of a social and economic system that emerged in Europe around 1600, which the Enlightenment dubbed "commercial society" and we call capitalism. From the start, some thinkers, the most famous being Adam Smith, have been drawn to that emblematic market, with its promise of a profusion of goods, rapid interchange, and other exciting transformations. Others, the most notorious being Karl Marx, have been repulsed by it. They have devoted their energies to vilifying the market system, just as its apologists have spoken up in its defense. Between them, they have shaped a good part of the face of modern culture.

As Muller's brilliant and engaging book shows, the birth of consciousness of market capitalism is one of the key events in the history of modern thought. This is far more than a book about economics, or economists. Muller does round up some of the usual suspects, like Smith, Marx, Keynes, and Hayek. However, he also brings in Hobbes, Voltaire, Burke, Hegel, Matthew Arnold, and György Lukács and demonstrates how their grappling with the meaning of capitalism shaped their ideas on politics, philosophy, literature, culture, and society. If "ideas have consequences," then these are the ideas that have had an impact on us all. Certainly no other institution central to modern life has been subjected to so many systematic assaults from so many different ideological directions. Yet compared to democracy or freedom of the press, capitalism has a far better track record in delivering what its champions have promised.

As Muller shows, capitalism's earliest advocates turn up in the French and Scottish Enlightenments. They first established the link between economic and political liberty, and economic progress and values such as tolerance and intellectual advance: the foundations of classical liberalism. Then, in the post-Marxian age, the keenest appreciation of the virtues of capitalism came from a sturdy trio of Austrians—Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich von Hayek, and Joseph Schumpeter—and a couple of Germans: Max Weber and Georg Simmel. They asserted the connection between economic liberty and social improvement: the very thing, in the guise of "social justice," capitalism's opponents claimed to represent. Yet, paradoxically, all of these thinkers found defending the most successful economic system in history uphill work, while capitalism's enemies took advantage of its undesirable associations from the very start.

One of those was its association with the Jews. They had been Europe's most conspicuous money-making and money-lending class in the early Middle Ages. The Church's dogmas about "just price" and strictures against usury were aimed at Jews; they gave those who engaged in those occupations a cultural stigma. Capitalism's opponents have exploited that stigma ever since. Karl Marx, a Jew himself, used the standard anti-Semitic images of the Jew as selfish, greedy, and heartlessly materialistic to characterize all of bourgeois capitalism. As Muller puts it, "Jew-bashing becomes a tool for bashing the bourgeoisie."

Mr. Herman is the author of *How the Scots Invented the Modern World.*

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Then came the claim that the merchant's assertion of his own interest was a moral assault on the community (this still survives in leftist rhetoric about "corporate greed"). The great achievement of the Scottish Enlightenment and the *Wealth of Nations* was to show that, on the contrary, the pursuit of self-interest in the marketplace actually furthered the public good, by offering a profusion of new goods and services to consumers. Instead of challenging divine law, the market followed natural law. Capitalism revealed an "invisible hand" guiding human affairs: not the hand of God but the remarkable ability of the market mechanism to coordinate the aspirations of the individual with the interactions of the collectivity.

Critics refused to be convinced. With the success of the Industrial Revolution, capitalism sprouted in every direction—but so did the attacks. Marx and others now branded capitalists as heartless exploiters, sucking wages dry from their impoverished workers. Then, faced by the abundant evidence that industrialization raised the standard of living of those who labored in its mills and factories, critics decided that while capitalism did not plunder the workers—on the contrary, according to Herbert Marcuse, it spoiled them into political and social somnolence—it did plunder the planet's natural resources and environment. Muller shows that Joseph Schumpeter had the answer to that argument more than half a century ago: Far from depleting natural resources, the genius of capitalism was to make new resources out of previously useless materials—coal, in the early Industrial Revolution; petroleum, in the age of the automobile; sand, in the age of the silicon chip.

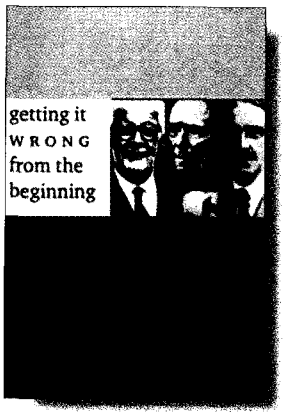
Capitalism's detractors distorted every one of its virtues into a vice: By making everyone (or nearly everyone) materially affluent, it made them spiritually poor. By encouraging men to make money together instead of fighting over political boundaries or religious affiliation, it drained men's lives of larger significance. Thinkers like György Lukács and Hans Freyer worried that thanks to capitalism's gratification of individual wishes, men were no longer part of "a unified culture in which everything was related to everything else and all expressed a common commitment." They discovered that unified culture in Communism and Nazism, respectively. As with too many intellectuals in the 20th century, the only antidote they could find to the happiness of capitalism was the concentration camp and the Gulag.

At a certain point the reader has to ask: How could so many intellectually gifted human beings be so consistently and obviously wrong? More precisely, how can the critics of capitalism so systematically deny the evidence of history and of the world before their eyes? The problem has bothered historians and critics before Muller. The cleverest suggest that capitalism, by creating a leisured intellectual class through its relentless division of labor, sows the seeds of its own destruction. Journalists, academics, literati, and those—like today's Hollywood celebrities—who aspire to similar status as intellectuals sense that the path to the power and authority they crave is closed. Their discontent turns to resentment. The failures of the system are magnified in their minds, and the successes minimized. An "adversarial culture" is born. The freedom of the market economy allows it to blossom and spread.

The only antidote they could find to the happiness of capitalism was the concentration camp and the Gulag.

Such at least was the argument of Schumpeter, and later of Daniel Bell. But, as Muller points out, not every intellectual turns into a critic of capitalism. Many, including the key figures in his book, have been its eloquent defenders. Even Marx had to admit that capitalism "has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals." And Schumpeter would write, "There was never so much personal freedom of mind and body for all, never so much readiness to bear and even to finance the mortal enemies of the leading class, never so much active sympathy with real and faked sufferings, never so much readiness to accept burdens, as there is in modern capitalist society." It is a point worth remembering, and Muller's brilliant work is a book worth reading. **NR**

Cults of Ignorance



Getting It Wrong from the Beginning: Our Progressivist Inheritance from Herbert Spencer, John Dewey, and Jean Piaget, by Kieran Egan (Yale, 224 pp., $25)

M. D. AESCHLIMAN

"SPENCER is unreadable today," the literary historian A. O. J. Cockshut has written, "but his immense prestige in his time [1820–1903], which extended as far as Russia, is a clear proof that complete ignorance of human nature will not necessarily prevent a man from becoming an acknowledged expert upon it." Indeed, Herbert Spencer's ideological mix of naïve empiricism, laissez-faire Social Darwinism, and faith in inevitable progress swept to great influence in late-19th-century America.

This book is a historical study, analysis, and critique of the educational "Progressivism" and naturalism that Spencer took over from Rousseau and his German-speaking disciples. Spencer developed it into a glamorous "science," which was then further developed by John Dewey and William Heard

Mr. Aeschliman is professor of education at Boston University, adjunct professor of English at the University of Italian Switzerland, and author of *The Restitution of Man: C. S. Lewis and the Case Against Scientism.*

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Kilpatrick in the U.S., and Jean Piaget in Rousseau's hometown of Geneva. This line of descent, affiliation, and influence now forms the fundamental thought-world of American teachers' colleges and schools of education, perhaps most prominently Teachers College, Columbia University, whose initial patron was the conservative humanist Nicholas Murray Butler but whose guiding spirit soon became—and has remained—John Dewey.

Himself a professor of education and author of several books in the field, Kieran Egan contends that the Spencer-Dewey-Piaget legacy is fundamentally flawed intellectually, and that it has been a "catastrophe" for our teachers, their students, and the culture at large. He quotes what is perhaps Spencer's most notoriously fatuous assertion about human nature and history: He flattered and seduced his mid-19th-century audience by assuring it that "progress is not an accident, not a thing within human control, but a beneficent necessity." Two world wars, global Depression, Russian Bolshevism, Fascism, Nazism, the other instantiations of Communism, megadeath weaponry, a sexual plague, and the various other problems we now confront, including an increasingly toxic pop culture, have proved the falsehood of this antireligious ideology. Yet one of its effects—the replacement, in the 20th century, of history teaching with courses in simplistic and soft-utopian "social studies"—has, ironically, succeeded in preventing the widespread realization of just how wrong the "Progressives" were.

Egan is at great pains to show that Dewey and other 20th-century Progressives took over Spencer's educational thinking lock, stock, and barrel, but that for a strategic reason they stopped crediting him as their source. This reason was Spencer's Social Darwinism, which, though continuing to appeal to many on the right, became embarrassing to those on the left who had become welfare-state liberals or socialists (including the Fabian socialist Beatrice Webb, to whom Spencer had been a tutor).

But the influence was undeniable. In 1911, former Harvard president Charles William Eliot, a chemist by training, assured readers of his anthology of Spencer's educational writings that the latter's "ideas on education . . . are now coming to prevail in most civilized countries, and they will prevail more and more." Prevail they did, but hardly to the benefit of civilization, as Egan carefully shows. Impatient with tradition, history, classical languages, and moral philosophy, Eliot gutted the Harvard undergraduate curriculum in the interest of a complete "elective" system.

Spencer and his follower Dewey shared this reductionist contempt for the traditional humanistic core of Western education, the education of what was styled "mere words" (as opposed to the reality of "things"). This ideological naturalism took hold somewhat later in Britain; from the 1960s on it made up for lost time, as the country's former chief inspector of schools, Chris Woodhead, has recently argued in his book *Class War*, a bestselling exposé of the state of British education. A repentant Progressive, Woodhead recommends a return to the humanistic core of education best represented in the Anglo-American world by the writings of John Henry Newman, Matthew Arnold, and their many American heirs (including Mortimer Adler and Allan Bloom). Woodhead also notes the academic effectiveness of faith-based schools, which were anathema to Spencer and Dewey and their Progressive successors. In light of the Supreme Court's recent school-choice decision, there is more breathing room for these schools, which traditionally have been more resistant to Progressivism, and which disproportionately and successfully serve poor and minority children.

In the 20th century, history teaching was replaced with simplistic and soft-utopian 'social studies.'

In developing his case against the "damaging bromides" of Spencer—and their steady institutionalization by Dewey and Kilpatrick in teachers' colleges and K–12 public schools—Egan looks carefully at the real effects of "child-centered" education, psychological "developmentalism," and what he usefully calls the "biologized view of

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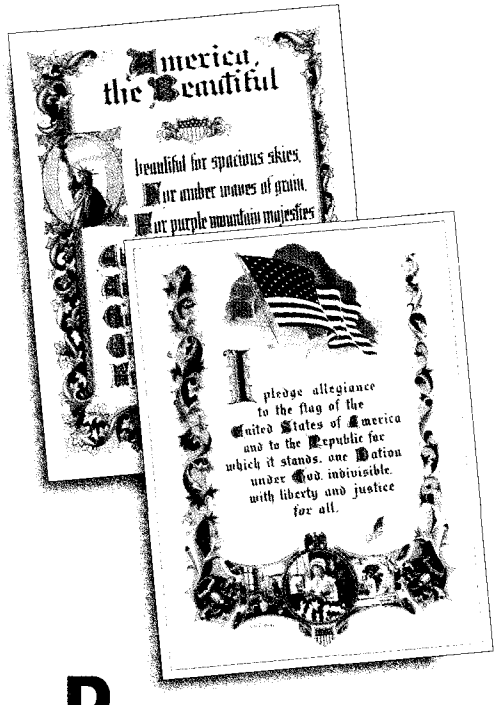
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mind" that changed curricula all over the Anglo-American world from common-sense transmitters of the cultural achievements of mankind to present-minded, experimental, experiential, naturalistic, and unchallenging approaches. As Richard Hofstadter pointed out over forty years ago in *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, Dewey's utopianism was rooted in a rejection of the validity of history as a guide to life and in a dogmatic faith in the beneficence of the future—precisely Spencer's own view.

Perhaps the most damaging single effect of the long, wrong turn of Spencer, Dewey, Kilpatrick, Piaget, and the Progressives has been, in Egan's words, "the reduction of academic content in primary schools in the 20th century." The Progressives shared a naïve belief in "nature," and insisted that all learning therefore ought to be "natural"—as if to discern what is natural were a simple thing, and, even if practicable, a good thing. Egan writes that "generations of schoolchildren, deprived of challenging tasks because [the Progressives] said they were incapable of them, bear the evidence of [the educators'] impact." The passionate opposition to memorization has dumbed down several generations of Americans—a disaster documented by international comparisons of the educational competencies of students.

The effects of the breakdown in the teaching and knowledge of history may be inadvertently evident even in Egan's otherwise fine book. Himself an (Irish-born) Canadian, Egan seems unaware of the long and dogged line of American critics of Dewey and the Progressives, including Irving Babbitt, Paul Elmer More, William C. Bagley and Isaac Kandel (colleagues of Dewey and Kilpatrick), Reinhold Niebuhr, Hofstadter, Russell Kirk, and the conservative Protestant R. J. Rushdoony, whose *The Messianic Character of American Education* (1963) is a neglected classic with a useful title. More regrettably and culpably, Egan makes no mention of three recent, widely read books that document much of his argument in greater detail and with even greater force than he himself does: E. D. Hirsch Jr.'s *The Schools We Need: And Why We Don't Have Them*, the late Jeanne Chall's *The Academic Achievement Challenge*, and Diane Ravitch's superbly illuminating if depressing survey *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms*. Ravitch's book gives valuable portraits of noble dissenters from Progressivism—such as Bagley, Kandel, and Hirsch—whose specific objections and alternatives need to be known and carefully weighed.

These books—along with Egan's, and Charles Glenn's important revisionist study *The Myth of the Common School*—point the way toward genuine educational progress. Such improvement has already seriously begun in the hundreds of K–8 American schools now using E. D. Hirsch's Core Knowledge curriculum, a classic instance of individual initiative and grassroots reform.

In response to the Romantic, Rousseauvian half-truth that each child needs to "construct" his own knowledge anew, one traditional lesson, expressed in a "dead" language and long ago, might profitably be relearned: Only "the stupid have no teacher except their own experience" (*eventu rerum stolidi didicere magistro*). **NR**

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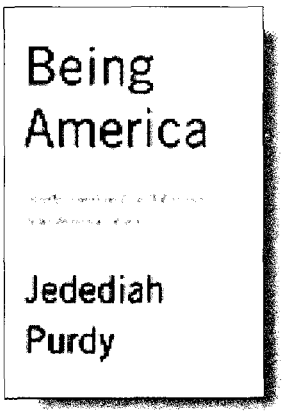

Being America: Liberty, Commerce, and Violence in an American World, by Jedediah Purdy (Knopf, $24, 352 pp.)

ROSS DOUTHAT

JEDEDIAH PURDY, the American Left's winsome scourge of irony, is a great one for name-dropping. In the course of a three-page preface to this book, he cites Burke, Tocqueville, Shakespeare, and Hannah Arendt; by page 50, he has added Yeats, Whitman, Hamilton, Jefferson, Thoreau, Adam Smith, Oakeshott, the Buddha, Emerson, Montesquieu, and Augustine.

Such a welter of names might lead the reader to suspect that Purdy's book is a work of political philosophy—and indeed, it sometimes wanders in that direction. It wanders elsewhere, too: through the tactics of the anti-globalization movement, the postmodern ad campaigns of companies like Benetton, and the cost of AIDS drugs in South Africa, as well as through the teeming cities of Egypt and Indonesia, Cambodia and China—all stops on a tour that Purdy took in the autumn of 2000, "trying to understand the attraction and resentment, the imitation and resent-

Mr. Douthat is an editorial analyst for *The Atlantic Monthly*, and co-editor of theamericanscene.com.

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ment that America inspires in the world."

All that's missing, in fact, is Purdy's own life story—but then, he already covered that ground in his debut effort, *For Common Things: Irony, Trust, and Commitment in America Today*, in which his attacks on Jerry Seinfeld, *Fast Company* magazine, and other horsemen of the Apocalypse were prefaced by a description of his homeschooled, achingly authentic West Virginia childhood. (Somehow, his years at Exeter and Harvard received less attention.) His parents didn't just educate him, Purdy wrote—they "freed him to learn"; and he and his sister "played endless games with sticks, pebbles, old clothes, mud that we slathered across our naked bodies."

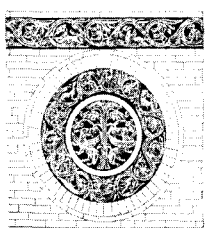
The absence of such cloying self-regard is enough to make *Being America* a better book than its predecessor, but not by much. Purdy has birthed an uneasy hybrid—part social-studies thesis, part travelogue—and freighted it with enough pomposity to sink a battleship. The book's overall purpose is never entirely clear, but the author's remark, early on, that "this is a time of American prominence when America means many contradictory things to many people" seems to serve as *Being America*'s touchstone. What does America mean to Americans, Purdy wonders, and what does it mean to the world?

These are important questions, to be sure, but they are also much-answered ones. It will surprise few when Purdy reveals that many Americans have viewed themselves as inhabiting a "universal nation." Nor will many be shocked by the announcement that America is a deeply religious country, with a special faith in Providence—or by the notion that Americans consider themselves more innocent, less corrupt, than the bloodied powers of the older world.

Americans, Purdy intones, "are migrants, merchants, and amnesiacs." (As his titles suggest, Purdy is fond of such neat trinities.) Americans are also liberals, both in politics and temperament—"disinclined to impose . . . customs and beliefs" on others, willing to "let go of past wrongs in order to live in the present," and possessed of a "sense of justice."

These are controversial statements, one supposes, for people who have never cracked a history book or opened a newspaper. Perhaps that is Purdy's intended audience. It would explain his habit of boldly going where many have gone before, offering undaring, workmanlike glosses on American intellectual history that seem best suited to an exam-time study guide. His own conclusions, when they intrude on the sonorous summaries of Emerson and Hamilton, Whitman and Lincoln, have all the subversive, startling effect of a mediocre graduation speech. "The thought that power is morally dangerous has almost disappeared from political argument today," he declares, "yet remembering it adds sobriety to strength." Or again, we all "have a pair of obligations: to avoid believing that the least worst is the perfect, and to stay true to what is best in it."

Not content to have discovered American universalism, American innocence, and American liberalism, *Being America* then takes us abroad, in search of the world's response to our nation of "migrants, merchants, and amnesiacs." Here, the book picks up somewhat: Purdy wanders in Indian shopping malls, interviews Cambodian labor organizers, and encounters politico-religious paranoia among Egypt's Muslims and Coptic Christians alike. While hardly a natural reporter, he has a knack for getting introduced to interesting people, whether they be N. R. Narayana Murthy, a software tycoon dubbed "the Indian Bill Gates," who designs his industrial park to physically resemble Silicon Valley ("to show our foreign clients that we are serious, that we are world-class"), or Steven Dong, a Chinese professor and talk-show anchor hired by the Communist government to improve its public relations, who tells Purdy that China's regime needs better "packaging," and perhaps a celebrity spokeswoman.



This is interesting material, but the author never leaves well enough alone, instead seizing every chance to lecture his readers. Just as Purdy fancies himself the first to have discovered the Puritans, the Federalists, and the Transcendentalists, he imagines that no one before him has heard of Nelson Mandela, or Tiananmen Square, or the Asian financial crisis. He cannot discuss HIV drugs in post-apartheid South Africa without providing a four-page history of AIDS in America, from Ryan White to *Philadelphia*; nor can he visit Phnom Penh without explaining who the Khmer Rouge were ("a fanatical group of Communists," apparently) and what Pol Pot did to Cambodia.

These recent-history recaps might be forgivable if Purdy's prose style sparkled, or, better, if he ventured a controversial opinion on any of the issues that are raised in his tangled tour of the globalized, Americanized world. But whether he is delving into the disputes between anti-logging activists and Home Depot, exploring the debate over IMF tactics in Indonesia, or discussing the attempts of American Christians to free Sudanese slaves, Purdy never sees fewer than three sides to every issue. This is a testimony to his intelligence, certainly—but after a time, his endless "on the one hands" and "to be sures" grow wearying, and one longs for a sharper voice, and a more unusual perspective, that would make his plodding sentences worth reading.

Instead, we are left with the names, sprinkled everywhere, like Biblical appeals in a Reformation polemic: "As Augustine wrote . . . as James Wilson suggested . . . Adam Smith is the half-forgotten master of this question"—and, my personal favorite—"the authors [of *The Federalist*] wrote as if aware of Immanuel Kant's remark, made famous by Isaiah Berlin . . ." There may be few fresh ideas in *Being America*, but at least there are plenty of old ones—and Purdy agrees with them all.

Indeed, he is even agreeable enough to provide a fitting epitaph for his own labors. At the close of *Being America*, in what he terms a "Bibliographic Glossary," the author acknowledges that Smith and Burke, Tocqueville and James Madison—"figures whose thought I have invoked prominently throughout this book"—are notoriously "the favorites of after-dinner speakers, so anyone who takes them as guides is under suspicion of being gassy and sanctimonious." The reader, having slogged through 300 pages with Jedediah Purdy, will be only too happy to confirm that suspicion. **NR**

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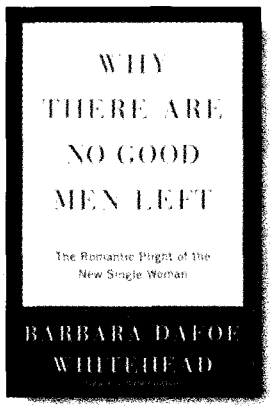
Girls Gone Wild



Why There Are No Good Men Left: The Romantic Plight of the New Single Woman, by Barbara Dafoe Whitehead (Broadway, 210 pp., $22.95)

PIA DE SOLENNI

THE plight of the modern accomplished woman: She tries to have it all, and too often ends up both alone and unhappy. This book examines the rise of the new single woman who fails in one relationship after another, whose ring finger remains conspicuously bare despite her obvious attempts to win a diamond.

Author Barbara Dafoe Whitehead recounts the stories of various women and their particular difficulties finding Mr. Right. Story after story features a less than desirable specimen of the male human being, but the accounts tend to look outward and not inward. The book never really addresses the underlying practical issue: What are women doing that puts them in the situation they face now? Most of our grandmothers found romance, and were more satisfied as women than the "new single women"— they had the husbands and families that the women in this book can't seem to acquire. Today's young women can become masters of the universe, but they apparently can't figure out how to meet and marry a good man, something women have been able to do since time immemorial.

Women have changed, in some ways for the worse. (I should mention that I am a member of the cohort Whitehead is examining—young, educated, single, and with a somewhat successful career—so I have standing to weigh in on this question.) The problem is not that more women go to university or have careers; in the past, plenty of women managed to do these things—and also get married and have families. Now, however, being educated and accomplished carries a feminist stigma. Radical feminists didn't understand that there's a way to be educated, intelligent, and accomplished without compromising their identity as women. So they decided to act like men. To be precise, they advocated that women act like men behaving badly.

In the pre-feminist era, relationships had a way of happening and working. Men took the initiative (even if some women skillfully choreographed them into doing it). This was part of the way a man showed that he was willing and able to protect, provide for, and cherish his woman. Not incidentally, these are all things that women still want. For their part, women were "empowered with choice"—able to select among the men who offered, and even sometimes to exercise a strong influence over who could make an offer. Being the object of a man's desire meant that he wanted her for more than just the night. He was willing to prove that he was worthy of spending the rest of his life with her. A woman was someone worth sacrificing for; starting with sex, she had something that a man had to work for. In short: She was in control. At age twelve, a friend of mine was told by her father, "Women don't know it, but they control their relationships with men."

Despite what one might be led to believe by popular Chick-Lit and feminist social commentary, men are not stupid. The old line, "Why buy a cow when milk is so cheap?" bespeaks a wisdom born of experience. Women hold the power, but these days they relinquish it as if they didn't know their own worth. They acquiesce in men's desire for instant gratification, and see their own chances for long-term happiness fade. It is this acquiescence that has changed male-female relationships. All of Whitehead's commentary and statistics on cohabitation confirm this; unfortunately, the author herself doesn't articulate it.

What is needed is a realistic appreciation of women's unique power. In the realm of physical fitness, we understand this perfectly. We spend hours in the gym because that time and discipline yield the sculpted body we desire. We diet and stay away from certain foods because we want a particular result, a particular level of health. We don't give in to everything that feels good and we even do some things we don't much enjoy. But the sacrifices get us the results we want.

The same is true in love and relationships. They take time; very often pleasure in the present has to be sacrificed for a better future. Everything that we do or desire affects who we are. If the object of a man's love is only a woman acting badly, how strong can his love be for her, especially when she's just like so many others?

Whitehead's data confirm a change in behavior witnessed at all levels of society. Consider the success of *Girls Gone Wild*, a video series that is the brainchild of millionaire Joe Francis. Francis has produced more than 80 versions of these films, in which women voluntarily bare their breasts for crowds of drunken men and a few movie cameras. These women are mostly college students, our educated elite; my peasant grandmother, who never went to school, would have run circles around them intellectually. Meanwhile, Joe Francis gets the last laugh and all the profits. Last year *Girls Gone Wild* earned him $90 million. Some of the women, as if to prove their stupidity even further, have sued him; none has prevailed.

While Whitehead's book includes a lot of useful data, it's missing the design that could have connected the dots. Women have forfeited control of their destinies. They can choose their universities, careers, houses, and so on—but they have no good men from whom to choose because they've set the moral bar so low that men don't need to rise to the challenge of being good men. They don't have to because women don't demand it. Perhaps women no longer even know how to begin; but until we recover our old advantage of moral strength, women's advancement will continue to spin, digging itself deeper and deeper into the muck. **NR**

Miss de Solenni is a fellow at the Family Research Council's Center for Human Life and Bioethics.

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No Gay Things Allowed?

NEW YORK, MARCH 28

THERE are of course other wars and one of them, on Wednesday, was being waged before the Supreme Court. The question before the house: Did the Court rule improperly in 1986 in *Bowers* v. *Hardwick*, which upheld the right of a state (Georgia, in that case) to declare as criminal, homosexual conduct between consenting adults.

The pending case is similar to *Bowers* in almost every respect: Two men in Houston, Tex., were arrested for engaging in such activity. The conviction was appealed and carried upstairs by the Lambda Defense and Education Fund, whose agenda is to abrogate all legislation banning, or frowning upon, homosexual contact, never mind just by consenting adults. They want freedom to engage in man-boy love. Justice Breyer, in one exchange with the attorney representing Texas's Harris County, made the case that states that have laws simply as expressions of moral disapproval impose grave consequences. "*Bowers* has proved to be harmful to thousands and thousands and thousands of people . . . not because they're [necessarily] going to be prosecuted, [but] because they fear it."

Such anti-homosexual-practice laws are "a possible instrument of repression in the hands of the prosecutors."

Justice Scalia acknowledged that anti-sodomy laws have been widely repealed, that only four states are left with such laws as brought this case to the Court's attention; but he asked the petitioner why this should matter. "Suppose that all the states had laws against flagpole-sitting at one time" and subsequently repealed them. "Does that make flagpole-sitting a fundamental right?"

This was a move to discourage comprehensive action by the Court that would amount to elevating homosexual activity to a primary right, which is what happened when the right of abortion was decocted from something or other. The realization of yet another fundamental right, one more giraffe armed with guarantees of due process, Justice Scalia is clearly bent on opposing.

The Texas law says that gays cannot do what non-gays can do, and the facts of the matter weigh against Texas. Even if the prosecution was brought on by *agents provocateurs* furtively setting out to add one more right to the Bill of Rights, it's hard to defend what the Texans did. The only way to do it, of course, is to say that what Texas did/does is not the Supreme Court's business. But this will prove hard, because in the *Bowers* case in 1986, the Court acknowledged that it *was* the Court's business, and now it will need to ask again whether due process, or equal protection, is involved. Justice Scalia will say it is not, and his opinion will be interesting, as his opinions are always interesting. It would be nice if Texas simply repealed the law, and let Lambda's clients go back to their practices undisturbed.

I Suspected That About You

NEW YORK, APRIL 4

SUSPICION, suspicion everywhere. Sometimes it's phony—the guard frisks the six-year-old girl at the airport. The rules are that everything and everybody is suspicious, so that includes six-year-old girls. Sometimes it's sinister—you charge that 9/11 was a Jewish-inspired contrivance. This suspicion comes with details: All the Jews in the World Trade Center slinked away just in time before the planes crashed! Sometimes suspicion is intended to bring tendentious focus. The caption in Morocco's *Al Alam* reads, "The attacking forces of the Americans plunder and steal the money of Iraqi civilians." Does the editor really believe it? Conceivably, but he wants to arouse feeling, and encourage suspicion of U.S. military motives.

Jonathan Brent of Yale and Vladimir Naumov have produced their long-awaited book, *Stalin's Last Crime: The Plot Against the Jewish Doctors 1948–1953*. We are at Stalin's dacha on March 1, 1953, and with him at dinner are his closest associates, Beria, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Bulganin. They sit down to eat and drink at about 10 P.M., and continue to do so until about 4 A.M. Fourteen hours later the great Stalin hasn't risen, but a light suggests he is now awake. Well, he is lying on the divan speechless and Khrushchev is summoned. But—he says, later, after the monster finally died on the 5th—he didn't want to call the doctors right away because his impression was that Stalin was suffering from a hangover, and you don't want to call in doctors to minister to an embarrassing complaint.

But . . . but. Beria said he wasn't drinking that night, just a little light Georgian wine. Why was he not drinking? Because Stalin liked others to drink so that he could probe his suspicions. But there is the suspicion that what he was given to drink was poison. They didn't want to unearth the actual cause of death because to administer poison to the leader of the Soviet Union was one big bourgeois-cosmopolitan act of treason. Speaking of cosmopolitanism, the suspicion against Jewish doctors was ripening. Did he die of conventional heart and brain problems? Was he properly treated? A commission was set up to report on the entire thing, and filed a huge study in June, but nobody much bothered to examine it; it just sat around. The drama in the Kremlin had worked itself out and suspicions weren't needed on that question, at that time.

We suspect, and not at all without reason, that there are millions of people in nations we accept, or have accepted,

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as civilized and friendly, who really do welcome any bad news for the coalition forces. Germans and French who opposed U.S. military action, and they are the majority, have progressed not so much to suspicion that their advice ought to have been taken, as to an appetite for proof positive that it should have been taken. This is normal, or better, not abnormal. An adviser to President Truman who counseled against dropping an atom bomb on Hiroshima might have felt furtive satisfaction if it had precipitated not Japanese surrender, but Japanese resolve.

But in such situations what one does is refrain from expressing such satisfactions. If John, spurned, is convinced that Mary will not be happy marrying Jim, his challenge is to participate gladly at the celebration of Mary's happy 25th wedding anniversary. Our suspicion that Germans and French—and Russians and Hollywood actors—would actually take satisfaction from reversals in Iraq, we must suppress. Though it would be nice if Chirac were to appear in due course at the White House, drop his pants, and wave his white underdrawers, surrendering to the superior statesmanship of President Bush.

Who's Fighting The War?

NEW YORK, APRIL 8

CONGRESSMAN CHARLES RANGEL is very bright and very witty and a public figure who rivals Barbara Walters for omnipresence. But he can also be counted on to attempt an invidious construction of almost any feature of American life that can possibly be represented as anti-black, his latest being the charge that we ought to abandon the volunteer military and go back to a draft.

Suppose that there were no African-American minority? Suppose that everyone was white, from which it would follow that everyone in the military was white. Would Mr. Rangel still call for a return to the draft? The logic of his argument would require him to do so, though the political bottom would fall out of his brief. If everyone were white, there would still be a higher percentage of poor 18-year-olds than less-poor joining the army, but the data would not be affected by ethnic correlations, and therefore would not attract the kind of attention Mr. Rangel seeks to attract. Any cause that can be tied to ethnic attachments becomes noteworthy.

But it's worth examining his analysis, if only to advise him that some of us are willing to take the trouble. "It's not fair that the people that we ask to fight the war are people who join the military because of economic conditions," Rangel said.

What's wrong with that is—just to begin with—the formulation. People who join the military do not do so in order to fight wars. They do so knowing that such wars as are fought, they will fight. If a young man signs up to be a policeman, he is not signing up to engage in shootouts with armed robbers, but shootouts with armed robbers will be with policemen. Young men who volunteer for the military have a very good statistical probability of avoiding that much of military conflict that brings death or wounding. The war we are currently engaged in is unbloody, by comparison with others. But even in the bloodiest war of the 20th century, casualties were, measured as percentages of those who served, slight. There were 16 million in the military in World War II and under 1 million casualties, 671,000 wounded, 292,000 killed. One casualty out of 16 serving.

The percentage of black Americans in the military is 20, compared to 13 percent of the U.S. population. As it happens, most black service members, we are informed in *Stars and Stripes*, hold administrative and medical jobs. Why should that be? One major reason is that those skills learned in the fighting units of the military are of no use when leaving. Accordingly, many blacks seek out army training, for instance in medical units, that gives a substantial advantage when going on to civilian trades.

There is another factor, which is that blacks tend to reenlist at a higher rate than others. The reason is that "blacks believe they have a better chance of color-blind success inside the military than in the civilian world," as Lisa Burgess of *Stars and Stripes* summarizes. This translates to more blacks, as a percentage of the population, than whites making the military their chosen profession. If Mr. Rangel is saying merely that military careers are marginally more attractive to blacks than to whites, he won't be questioned, but the political-ethnic point disappears.

The study of *Stars and Stripes* relies on a report released by the Department of Defense in January. We do vainly to correct the impression, but we try: "In terms of Vietnam, the widespread impression that blacks died in disproportionate numbers during the Vietnam War is actually a myth." Blacks accounted for 10.6 percent of all Americans who served, and 12.5 percent of all fatalities. The percentage of blacks of military age at that time was 13.5.

Not much is left of Mr. Rangel's idea. There are some Americans (I am one of them) who believe in national service for everyone, but the distinction here is an extension of the very idea of a voluntary military: National service should be voluntary, not compulsory, but social pressures to serve should be militantly in place, doing day-and-night duty by exerting pressure on young men and women to give a year of their lives to the country that protects their lives, and their freedom.

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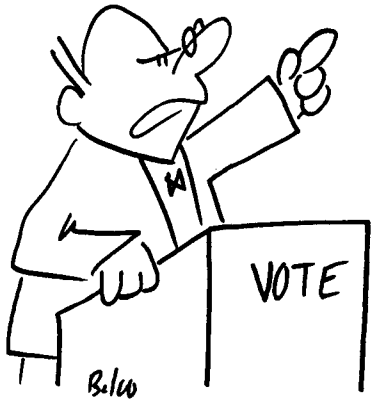

"I'll never lie to you, and this time I mean it!"

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what's right

DAVID FRUM

A Must-Read

If you're going to write books for a living, you have to make up your mind not to pay any attention to reviews of your work. But I doubt that I will ever manage to feel indifferent to reviews of my *friends'* books—especially not to one as peevishly ungenerous as *The New Yorker*'s review (dated April 14) of Anne Applebaum's new book, *Gulag: A History*.

I read *Gulag* in galleys a few weeks ago. It is, simply, a titanic achievement: learned and moving and profound. *Gulag* is the first book in English to compile the whole mass of knowledge about the Soviet prison-camp system. That system was created within weeks of the inauguration of the Soviet state, in 1917, and it lasted as long as the Soviet Union itself. In all, perhaps as many as 18 million people passed through its camps. And yet, even now, the Gulag is not well understood in the West.

The *New Yorker* review goes to some lengths to deny this lack of understanding. It is written by David Remnick, the magazine's editor and himself the author of a fine book about modern Russia, *Lenin's Tomb*. Remnick insists that we already knew all we needed to know about the Gulag. And it's true that since the 1970s, if not before, the principal facts about the Gulag have been available to those who wished to avail themselves of them. But how few of us did wish to! I'd guess that the proportion was even tinier amongst the sort of people who read and write for magazines like *The New Yorker*.

The Gulag *was* the Soviet Union. We may imagine inmates chopping trees, like Ivan Denisovich, or digging for gold in Kolyma. They were equally likely to be found constructing apartment blocks in Moscow or making toys or canning fish. The Nazi camps were death camps, intended to murder; any industrial contribution they might make to the German war effort was incidental at best. The Soviets, by contrast, built their economy on a foundation of slave labor—the first modern society to try such a thing since the Confederacy, with the difference that any Soviet citizen could be reduced to slavery at any moment.

No reader will easily forget Applebaum's vivid accounts of the horrible human suffering of the Gulag: the hunger and frostbite, the lonely, disregarded deaths, the sadism and exploitation, the mothers snatched on the street without so much as a final goodbye to their families, the orphaned children dying of cold and starvation and neglect, the fear and mistrust felt between those who were randomly spared and those who were almost as randomly seized.

But Applebaum is ultimately interested less in the Gulag's horror than its creators' motives. We today may look back on the camp era and see only waste: Stalin's "preposterous public-works projects," as Remnick calls them. But that's not how it seemed to many at the time. At the time, many Westerners paid tribute to the Soviet Union's achievements—its mighty dams and railways, its cities in the Arctic circle and vast farms of irrigated grain. Even anti-Communists like Richard Crossman, editor of *The God That Failed*, paid tribute to the "terrifying efficiency" of the Soviet economy: Liberated from petty concerns like profit and loss and cost-accounting, the Soviets could do things that no capitalist society would ever dare attempt. Andrei Amalrik, in his *Notes of a Revolutionary*, recalls Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau's visit to the Siberian city of Norilsk. Trudeau lamented that Canada had never succeeded in building so large a city so far north—unaware, or unconcerned, that Norilsk had been built by prisoners.

The Gulag *was* the Soviet Union.

Any decent person can recognize the inhumanity and cruelty of the Gulag (though as a matter of record, a remarkable number of people who considered themselves decent managed to avoid recognizing it when it counted). But what Applebaum emphasizes, as nobody before her has done, is the Gulag's sheer stupid pointlessness.

Who would set prisoners to work digging an unnecessary canal from the White Sea to the Baltic using only hand tools? How could anybody imagine that starving slaves could outproduce American factories? Were the Soviets crazy?

Applebaum does not answer this question directly—but she provides the evidence for the reader to find the answer for himself. The Soviets were not crazy. They believed that society's wealth consisted in something called the "surplus value" of the worker's labor. In a capitalist society, the capitalist stole that surplus value. In the Communist fairyland of tomorrow, the worker would keep the surplus for his own benefit. In the meantime, Marxian theory suggested, the emerging socialist state could develop by appropriating for itself the surplus value that had previously enriched the capitalist. And if the worker could be forced to eat less, to live in a barracks instead of a house, to wear rags rather than clothes—why then the surplus would be even bigger, and the state would advance even faster, and the Communist fairyland would arrive even sooner.

It all made a terrible sense—that is, if you accepted the crackpot economics on which the plan rested. In other words, just as Solzhenitsyn traced the responsibility for the creation of the Gulag back from Stalin to Lenin, so Applebaum follows the path all the way back to *Das Kapital*. She shows us that the Gulag is not just an incident in the history of Russia. It is the culmination of the history of socialism.

This searing insight is naturally disturbing to those for whom socialism remains a sentimental attachment. For them, Applebaum's great book will indeed be a disturbing experience—and you can see why *The New Yorker* might wish to protect them from it by allowing it no greater value than as a kind of reminder notice to read something else. "[I]f Applebaum's *Gulag* leads more readers to Solzhenitsyn then her book will have served an important function." True enough. But it's also true that Solzhenitsyn should lead readers to Applebaum—a writer whose courage and originality live up to the standards set by the master himself. **NR**

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Office of National Drug Control Policy. Monitoring the Future study, December 2002. University of Michigan

THE KIDS WOULD *THANK YOU* *but* THAT WOULD BE SO UNCOOL.

Thanks to the support of corporate America, we're winning. Research shows that drug use among young teens is at the lowest level in a decade.† The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and the long-standing efforts of local, state, federal, public health and other organizations have helped to make this happen.

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Nobody made you do it. It was a choice that each individual organization made.

For your time and your talent, your hard work and financial generosity, the Office of National Drug Control Policy sincerely thanks you.

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Kurt M. Landgraf,
President & CEO of
Educational Testing Service

"We are committed to providing teachers with everything they need to help improve education."

Measuring Up: A National Report Card

America is not doing a good enough job at educating students. Far too many of our children are not learning what they will need to succeed either in the workplace or college. The public knows it and is demanding better schools.

Twenty years ago *A Nation at Risk* served as call to action for policymakers, parents and practitioners. Today there is an unprecedented national commitment to high academic standards and achievement for all our children.

But education in America remains a decidedly local enterprise. It is up to states and local school districts to determine what students are taught, what they have to know and be able to do to graduate from high school or to move from third grade to fourth. Each state determines how student progress will be measured, how high students must score on a test to be called "proficient."

Under our system, it is not unusual for two students who have learned the same amount to be labeled (and rewarded) quite differently in different states. One might be deemed to be proficient while the other may be required to do remedial work.

There is no national requirement for what students must learn. But there is the "nation's report card," which gives us a benchmark for how we are doing. For nearly 35 years, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) has been periodically assessing students across the nation. NAEP is the only nationally representative and continuing assessment of the educational achievement of American fourth-, eighth-, and 12th-grade students.

No student gets an individual score, but the nation clearly gets a grade. So far, we're not passing. In 2000, NAEP revealed that only about one in four students in fourth and eighth grades were proficient in mathematics. At high school, it is even worse – only one in every six 12th graders reached the proficient level.

The federal *No Child Left Behind Act* has put considerable pressure on states and school districts to improve student performance. Each state will measure progress somewhat differently, but we will continue to have NAEP sampling to provide that national benchmark. Policymakers—and taxpayers—at every level are investing a great deal of money in schools. We need good data to know how that investment is paying off.

As one of the contractors that work with the United States Department of Education to administer NAEP, ETS is committed to providing good data and analysis. We have been in the business of designing assessments on a large scale for a long time. We have built and nourished the research expertise to ensure the assessments make sense and are of the highest quality and free of bias.

But we know that assessments, no matter how well constructed, do not produce better learning. That only happens when good teachers are well equipped to teach, when they have high expectations for all their students, when they have good diagnostic information and the professional development they need to help students succeed.

At ETS, we are committed to providing teachers with everything they need to help improve education. All of our futures depend on their success.

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